DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 129 196 HE 008 286

AUTHOR Millard, Richard M.
TITLE State Boards of Higher Education. ERIC/Higher Education Research Report No. 4.
INSTITUTION American Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C.; George Washington Univ., Washington, D.C. ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education.
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 77p.; Publications Department, American Association for Higher Education, One Dupont Circle, Suite 780, Washington, D.C. 20036 ($3.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Centralization; Decision Making; *Educational Planning; Educational Policy; Educational Quality; *Governing Boards; *Higher Education; Policy Formation; *Post Secondary Education; *State Action; *State Boards of Education; *Statewide Planning

ABSTRACT

Several dilemmas have arisen as a consequence of the centralization of state decision-making, including areas of tension between state boards and institutions and between executive and legislative branches of government. It is suggested that these boards are ultimately in the best interest of the higher education community. In a period of retrenchment, in which accountability, effective use of limited resources, and concern with evaluation are paramount, state boards, acting in consort with all sectors of postsecondary education and the public offer the best promise for insuring institutional survival and maintaining the quality of education. This report reviews the historical development of the boards, as well as their functions, powers, and structures. Tables are included on: state coordinating and governing boards; options chosen by states and eligible territories in establishing Section 1202 state commissions; and major issues of concern to state higher education agencies. (LBH)

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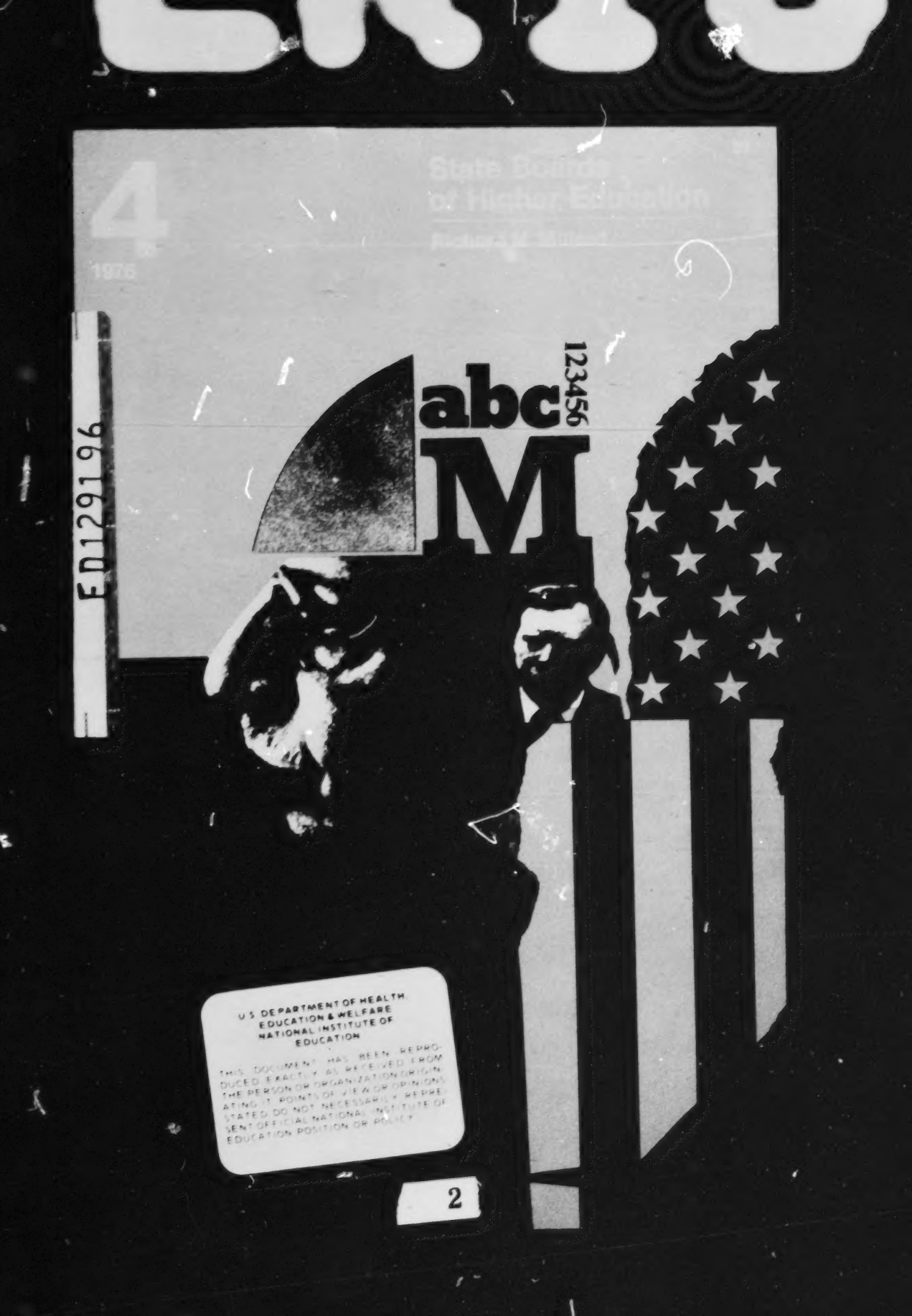

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State Boards of Higher Education

Richard M. Millard

ERIC/Higher Education
Research Report No. 4
1976

Prepared by the
ERIC Clearinghouse
on Higher Education
The George Washington University
Washington, D.C. 20036

Published by
The American Association
for Higher Education
One Dupont Circle, Suite 780
Washington, D.C. 20036

This publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to the American Association for Higher Education for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. Points of view or opinions do not, however, necessarily represent official views or opinions of either the American Association for Higher Education or the National Institute of Education.

Foreword

Every state has some board, commission, or staff that is responsible in some measure for higher education. These boards differ greatly in power, structure, and composition. The development of these boards was hastened by the implementation of state postsecondary commission, known as 1202 Commission, provided for in the Education Amendments of 1972, which in many instances widened the area of board responsibility from higher education to postsecondary education. The postsecondary education community includes proprietary and vocational schools as well as two-year, four-year, and graduate and professional schools. A number of dilemmas have arisen as a consequence of this centralization of decision making, including areas of tension between state boards and institutions and between executive and legislative branches of government. The author believes, however, these boards are ultimately in the best interest of the higher education community. In a period of retrenchment, in which accountability, effective use of limited resources, and concern with evaluation are paramount, state boards, acting in consort with all sectors of postsecondary education and the public offer the best promise for insuring institutional survival and maintaining the quality of education. The author, Richard M. Millard is director, Higher Education Services, Education Commission of the States, Denver, Colorado.

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Overview

A state board of higher Education broadly defined is a board established constitutionally, statutorily, or by executive order with at least some degree of responsibility for planning in relation to post secondary or higher education involving at a minimum the senior public institutions in the state but more frequently with wider responsibility for all public institutions, and, in a growing number of cases, for private higher educational institutions as well. While these boards go back to 1784 with the establishment of the New York Board of Regents, they are primarily a twentieth century development which has accelerated markedly since 1960. Five boards existed by 1900; 17 by the end of World War II; 23 by 1960. Today all states plus Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the District of Columbia have such boards. Among the states the majority of the boards were established during the period of rapid expansion of higher education to plan for its orderly growth and development. In 48 of the 50 states these boards are legislatively or constitutionally authorized. In two they are executively authorized as state post-secondary commissions in response to federal legislation (1202) in 1972.*

The boards within the states vary greatly in their power, structure, and composition. Nineteen are consolidated governing boards: 11 for all public institutions, nine for senior public institutions only. Thirty-one are coordinating or planning boards. Of the coordinating boards, 17 approve programs for all public institutions and recommend consolidated or aggregated budgets; two review but do not approve programs but recommend consolidated or aggregated budgets; five review programs and review segmented budgets; one approves programs but recommends formulas, not budgets; two approve programs but have no budgetary role; five have only advisory planning functions. In 28 states these boards have some responsibility for planning for private as well as public higher education. In the majority of states the members of the boards are lay and public. In four states they are elected directly or indirectly. In a few states (5) half or more of the members are representative of institutions or segments of higher or post-secondary education. In all states the boards have some planning

*Since this manuscript has been completed, the Nebraska legislature has established the statutory status of its postsecondary education commission.

function. A number of additional functions are performed by such boards in different states, including determining priorities in capital budget requests, development of data bases and management information systems, management of student aid programs, and administering various federal programs. In some states the board relates directly to institutions, in others to institutional boards, and in still others to institutional boards or combinations of segmental and institutional boards. In a few states the board and agency have cabinet status. In eight states, a single board is responsible for all levels of education.

The development of state postsecondary education commissions (1202) in response to the Education Amendments of 1972 has in some cases tended to complicate the picture. While part of the intent of the legislation may have been to recognize, reinforce, and broaden statewide postsecondary educational planning by these boards, because of representation requirements in the law and the fact that states were left to designate, augment, or create such commissions, in some states the response resulted in creation of separate commissions other than existing higher education boards. The act, in addition to calling on states to create commissions, changed the universe of concern from higher education to postsecondary education and required the commissions to plan in this wider context. In spite of federal delays in implementation, all but four states and all eligible territories responded by designating or creating commissions. Thirty-one states designated or augumented existing boards. The three states without boards created commissions by executive order. Nine states created or designated other commissions where there were existing governing (6) or coordinating (3) boards. Perhaps the major positive impact of the commissions has been to hasten broadening of statewide planning to include the full range of postsecondary education.

While many of the state boards were created to deal with expansion of higher education, they now face a period of possible contraction, fiscal stringency, and changing scope of issues. If anything, planning is even more critical under such changed conditions. Areas of tension continue to exist between boards and institutions on the one hand and executive and legislative branches of government on the other. Among the continuing areas of tension are issues of control versus autonomy, centralization versus decentralization, the changes of homogenization, and the need for clarification of levels of administrative responsibility. To these must be added the heightened tension and competition among the segments of postsecondary education including concern about the relation of vocational education, of proprietary institutions, and of private higher education to state plan-

ning and financing. The issues are heightened by a tendency in a number of states for the executive and legislative branches of government to become more actively and directly involved in postsecondary education decision making. It would seem clear that statewide planning and coordination in some form are here to stay. The critical question is not whether there will be boards of postsecondary or higher education, but how in their evolution they can more effectively serve the needs of students, citizens, institutions, and state governments.

Historical Development

Every state currently has some board or commission and staff, either constitutionally or statutorily provided or created by executive order, which is responsible to some degree for higher education in the state. However, only five states (Arkansas, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey and North Dakota) use the phrase "Board of Higher Education" to describe their higher or postsecondary education boards, and the powers and responsibilities among these five vary considerably. Consequently, the phrase "State Boards of Higher Education" is somewhat misleading. Seven states use the term "Commission on Higher Education" or variants thereof (Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Oregon, South Carolina and Tennessee). Perhaps the most common term is "Board of Regents" or a variant of this (18 states). While the term "Regents" tends more frequently to be used with a governing rather than a coordinating board or agency, even this is not a safe rule; four boards of regents, including the oldest in the country, are coordinating rather than governing agencies (Louisiana, New York, Ohio and Oklahoma). Other terms used are Coordinating Board (Minnesota, Missouri and Texas), Trustees (Maine and Mississippi), Council (Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming), Board of Educational Finance (New Mexico), and Board of Governors (North Carolina). In eight states a single board or agency is responsible for all education, although in one state (Idaho) the board has two semi-distinct staffs (one for elementary-secondary education and one for post-secondary education), and in another state the Board of Education consists of the combined Board of Regents and the Board of Public Education (Montana), again with two staffs. In Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island the boards and staffs are the same and the commissioner, secretary or chief state school officer and the higher education executive officer are one and the same. *

*The Florida Board of Education consists of the governor and cabinet and is responsible for all educational levels; however, the senior higher education institutions are governed by the Board of Regents of the State University System. In South Dakota, a Constitutional Board of Regents governs higher education but is responsible to an overall Department of Education and Cultural Affairs headed by a secretary.

To complicate the picture still further, since 1972 even the term "higher education" no longer is quite appropriate to cover the range of institutions some of these boards, councils, and commissions have in their purview (see chapter 3 and Education Amendments of 1972). The majority of these boards also are designated by their governors as State Postsecondary Planning Commissions in accordance with the Education Amendments of 1972. In a few cases boards are vested by state legislative action and given planning responsibilities related to public, private, and proprietary education, including postsecondary vocational education as well as traditional public higher education. In Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont, which previously had no statewide higher education agencies, the Postsecondary Planning Commissions created by executive order provide the first formal effort in that direction. In California and New Hampshire reorganization already was in progress at the time the federal law became operative, so the new state boards authorized by statute were named Postsecondary Education Commissions.**

In many ways this is a confused pattern. It is considerably more complicated than the status of elementary-secondary education among the states where, with exceptions, there is usually a state board of education with a commissioner or superintendent of public instruction as its executive officer. If by "Boards of Higher Education" is meant boards parallel to boards of education that are responsible for elementary-secondary education, and have at least analogous powers in relation to higher education, the parallel at best will be only appropriate and the differences are likely to be far greater than the similarities.

The reasons for the dissimilarities are not hard to see. While boards of trustees of individual public colleges and universities date from the founding of these institutions, state level boards or commissions or councils responsible in some way even for major segments of public higher education are, with few exceptions, relatively recent structures. The nineteenth century saw major expansion of elementary and secondary education, and by the beginning of the twentieth century most states had compulsory school laws. The need for developing state departments of education to ensure some minimum standards of instruction and to work with the many school districts in the states emerged early. The higher education situation was quite different. While the states did respond to the need for preparing

**The State of Washington in July 1975 revised and renamed its Council on Higher Education the Council on Postsecondary Education.

elementary and secondary school teachers by developing public normal schools (the first in Massachusetts as early as 1839), higher education was provided primarily by private institutions throughout the nineteenth and up to the first half of the twentieth century. Further, the actual college population was small in relation to what is now known as the "college-age population"—as late as 1900 only 4 percent of the college-age population attended college (Berdahl 1971, p.28). Postsecondary or higher education never has been compulsory, nor until the late 1950's has the question of access to it been a major concern of state or national governments.

This is not to say, however, that the general movement toward egalitarianism in postsecondary education does not go back far into this nation's history. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 enjoined the states to provide educational opportunity to their citizens, stating it necessary to good government (Glenny and Dalgish 1973). While public as well as private higher education as it began in this country provided essentially classical education to future ministers and lawyers (and thus had from the beginning a vocational tinge), it was available primarily to sons of the more affluent citizens. To avoid moving out of the classical and aristocratic mode, the Yale faculty in 1828 closed the curriculum for all time against the commonizing intrusions of modern languages and the natural sciences. It was the states and not the institutions that beginning in the 1830's and 1840's developed normal schools to provide teachers. These schools opened further educational opportunities to a wider range of citizens than those eligible or able to attend the more prestigious private and public colleges. It was the normal schools that much later were to become the teachers colleges, state colleges, and regional universities in the states.

By far the most important and portentious event in higher education in the nineteenth century was the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act during the Civil War (1862), modified and extended in 1890 and 1935. In contrast to the position taken by the Yale faculty, the Congress saw fit to make land available to the states to establish colleges for the sons and daughters of mechanics and farmers and specified that these colleges should make programs available in the practical as well as the liberal arts. These colleges became the basis in the latter part of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century for the development of great state universities and university systems. Until well into the twentieth century many of them provided access to postsecondary education to any citizen of their state who finished high school and could afford to attend.

In the Roosevelt years following the great depression the National Youth Administration provided college work opportunities to enable students from financially distressed families to continue college. But the first great egalitarian move in making postsecondary and higher education available to a much wider range of citizens was the G.I. Bill passed during World War II. Interestingly, the G.I. Bill was postsecondary and not just higher educational in character, for it enabled veterans not only to go to college, but to enter vocational programs (public, private, or proprietary) and apprenticeship programs. While some higher education faculties grumbled that the influx of veterans would lower the quality of students, this not only did not happen but the veterans brought a seriousness to college education that had not uniformly marked previous college generations. The veterans found college to be a key to upward mobility, and most of them determined that their children also should have a college education. Many of their nonveteran contemporaries also shared this determination. These children made up the baby boom of the 1940's and the 1950's and began to move into colleges in the 1960's.

During the first half of the twentieth century most states, particularly in the Middle West and West, were developing their public institutions. Lyman Glenny has described this development:

> Universities began extensive research programs in the physical and biological sciences; provided new services for the farmers, industries and other special-interest groups; added professional schools in new areas such as social work, public administration, industrial relations and municipal management; further specialized in agriculture, medicine and dentistry; and increased course offerings in almost all previously existing academic fields (Glenny 1958, p. 15).

By the 1950's, enrollments in public institutions equaled those in private institutions.

Well before 1950, 16 states had moved to consolidate the governance at least of their senior public institutions, and three or four had developed agencies or boards to coordinate higher educational development rather than consolidated governing boards. The oldest of such boards going back to the eighteenth century is the New York Board of Regents (1784). It was established by the first regular session of the New York legislature as "The Regents of the University of the State of New York" to serve as the trustees or governing board for the reconstituted King's College, which became known as Columbia University, but it was also empowered to serve as trustees for "such 'schools and colleges' as might be established in any other

part of the state" (Abbott 1958, p. 14). The law was revised in 1787, giving Columbia its own board of trustees but providing supervisory power to the regents for academies, schools, and colleges "to enable them to mold the several institutions into a unity that would serve the best interests of the people of the state as a whole" (p. 14). Thus, dating from 1787 the regents have at least been responsible for coordination and planning for all education beyond the common school, including public, private, and proprietary. Since the Unification Act of 1904 and the Education Law of 1910 the regents have been the policy, planning, and regulatory body for all levels of education. The board began as a state higher education agency but was from the beginning the University of the State of New York. Also at the outset the regents had the "explicit responsibility and power to make plans and policies for education without regard to distinctions in public and private control" (p. 21).

Before the turn of the century four other states had established consolidated governing boards for their public institutions (Nevada (1864), Montana (1889), Idaho (1890), and South Dakota (1897), even though, as in Nevada, the board started with a single institution. As institutions were added they were placed under the aegis of the single governing board. Florida in 1885 established its rather unique Board of Education, which consisted of the governor and cabinet. This board continues today to serve as the coordinating agency for all levels of education in the state. The Florida Board of Regents, State University System, the governing board for all senior institutions in the state, was established in 1905 by statute but remains responsible to the Board of Education. Significantly, all six of the pre-1900 boards are included in the constitutions of their states.

Between 1900 and 1930 six additional states added consolidated governing boards (Hawaii (1907), Iowa (1909), Mississippi (1910), Alaska (1917), Kansas (1925) and Oregon (1929).* Between 1930 and 1950 four more states established governing boards (Georgia (1931), North Dakota (1939), Rhode Island (1939), and Arizona (1945) and two states, (Kentucky (1934) and Oklahoma (1941)), established coordinating agencies. With two exceptions (Iowa and Kentucky) these boards established between 1900 and 1930 were given constitutional status.

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*The Oregon State Board of Higher Education continues to operate as the governing board for senior institutions in Oregon, but in 1963 was included under the Educational Coordinating Council responsible for coordinating all levels of education. In a 1975 revision in structure and functions, the Educational Coordinating Council has been named the Educational Coordinating Commission.

Thus, between 1784 and the end of World War II (1946) 17 states established central higher education agencies. By far the majority, 14, established governing boards, with three additional states establishing coordinating agencies. The 14 states establishing central governing boards recognized early, as Robert Berdahl points out, that in periods of rapid growth

> The assumption that lay governing boards [of individual institutions] would protect the public interest was only partially correct. Although the lay trustees usually worked conscientiously to avoid wasting public funds, they were also understandably ambitious for their institutions. Thus they sometimes advanced proposals for expansion and for new programs which, taken by themselves, may have been legitimate but which, viewed in connection with similar proposals from other institutions, constituted a set of financial demands and a plethora of program offerings going beyond the states' resources or needs (Berdahl 1971, p. 27).

On the whole these 14 states with central governing boards were states with comparatively fewer institutions, states without numerous or large private institutions, states with relatively slow growth rates and with limited fiscal resources at the time. Berdahl goes on to point out that these states

> decided to control such premature expansion and proliferation by creating one single consolidated board for higher education and, at the same time, abolishing any existing local governing boards where necessary. Some of these consolidated boards—particularly in Georgia, Iowa and Oregon—moved aggressively to reduce program duplication; in Georgia, the agency founded in the depression year of 1931 eliminated 10 institutions (p. 27).

The majority of states, however, continued to deal with the various public institutions and their governing boards separately.

The real pressure for statewide coordination of public higher education began in the 1950's and accelerated in the 1960's. Six new coordinating boards (three of which have since changed to consolidated governing boards) appeared during the 1950's (New Mexico (1951), North Carolina (1955), Wisconsin (1955), Virginia (1956), Illinois (1957) and Utah (1959). Utah, North Carolina, and Wisconsin changed to consolidated governing boards in 1969, 1972, and 1973, respectively.

The 1950's was also the period when voluntary coordinating arrangements flourished. The upsurge in enrollments already had begun and was aided by an influx of veterans. States were becoming aware of problems related to expansion and the need for interinstitutional cooperation in developing facilities, programs, and plans for expansion both to avoid duplication and to utilize resources effectively.

What had been normal schools were becoming state colleges that in some cases had ambitions of becoming regional universities. As early as 1938 the American Council on Education had published a volume on *Cooperation and Coordination in Higher Education* (March 1938). In 1948 the President's Commission on Higher Education (*Higher Education for American Democracy* 1947) recommended better coordination and planning for higher education. Some presidents of state institutions, recognizing the growing pressure for coordination from the states, developed mechanisms for voluntary coordination. While in some states this amounted to little more than occasional meetings and ad hoc agreements, in 11 states more continuing means of consultation were established (Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, and Washington). Since the success of such arrangements depended entirely on the willingness of the presidents and institutions to cooperate, they tended to be viable only as long as the interests of the institutions were not of a competing nature. On the whole, as Lyman Glenny has pointed out, when it did work, voluntary coordination tended to preserve the status quo and to be dominated by the major or largest institution.

> Voluntary coordination among self-supported institutions has succeeded only for short periods of time because the leading state university could be magnanimous without threat to its dominant position. However, once weak colleges gain in strength, they ungratefully descend upon their big brother, thus ending voluntary coordination. This reconstitutes conditions necessitating formal coordination and regulation (Minter 1966, p. 38).

Today, with the possible vestigial exceptions of Nebraska and Delaware, all of these voluntary coordinating structures on state levels have disappeared.

It is no accident that the major period of acceleration in the development of state higher education agencies and boards coincided with the most rapid period of expansion of higher education in the history of this country—1960 to 1970. Although expansion occurred in both public and private institutions, the public institutions expanded at a far more rapid rate than the private. But the private institutions did expand. Since 1950 they have increased by over 300 and their enrollments have nearly doubled, from 1.1 to 2.1 million students (Ramsden 1975).

The major responsibility, however, belonged to the states for meeting the demands for higher education that grew out of the increased college-age population, especially the increased percentage

of this population actually going to college. Between 1960 and 1970 total enrollments, both public and private, increased 126 percent, from 3,789,000 in 1960 to 8,581,000 in 1970. Even though not all students were able to go to the institutions of their first choice, few if any were turned away from higher education altogether for lack of space during this period. In this time span higher education expenditures, educational and general, rose 207 percent, from just over $4.5 billion to almost $14 billion, the states being the most important single source of funds. More than 400 new campuses were created by the states, which brought the total of public institutions to 1,089 (Kerr 1973, p. 33).

The most phenomenal growth during the decade occurred in community and junior colleges. While junior colleges date back to the early part of the twentieth century, the concept of a college within commuting distance of its students, closely related to the local community, and offering occupational as well as transfer programs, is largely post World War II in origin and development. By 1959, there were 600 community and junior colleges in existence, with most of the public ones under state boards of education. These have increased to over 1,200, 1,000 of which are public, enrolling one-third of all college and university students. Also, in most states with statewide coordinating boards, the community and junior colleges now are included under these boards rather than under boards of education (Glaser 1974, p. 1-2).

With such major expansion it was not at all surprising that governors and state legislators would create state coordinating and governing agencies to deal with the tremendous expansion of public higher education. In fact, the expressed purpose of much of the state legislation establishing such agencies, was "to provide for the orderly growth" of public higher education. Governors and legislators, faced with increasing demands for higher education places, competition among existing institutions and systems for funds for expansion, and increasing evidence of the chaos of random growth, often turned to study commissions, after which they acted on the recommendations of such commissions to create legislation establishing coordinating or governing agencies. In contrast to the period before 1960, almost all agencies or boards created in the 1960's were coordinating rather than governing boards. By 1970, 47 states had coordinating or governing boards, with twenty-three new boards being established between 1960 and 1969. Only Nebraska, Delaware, and Vermont did not create such boards. Although Nebraska and Vermont have had a series of studies recommending establishment

of coordinating boards, they have not been able to pass the appropriate legislation.

The 47 boards and agencies vary considerably with respect to the number of institutions under their purview and in their powers in relation to the institutions. As of 1970, 18 were governing boards and 29 were coordinating agencies. The Pennsylvania Board of Education stands in a somewhat peculiar situation in that it is both a coordinating and governing board, coordinating for "state related" institutions, but governing for "state owned" institutions. Among the current 19 states with governing boards, in six states (Arizona, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina) the governing power of the boards extends only to the senior institutions.* The community colleges in these states either are under separate agencies (one) or under the board of education (five). Few if any of the governing boards have any responsibility for postsecondary vocational education except to the extent that vocational education is offered as occupational education in the community colleges under their control.

None of the states that have established coordinating or consolidated governing agencies have abandoned them for a return to no coordinating or voluntary coordination. While bills to abolish boards have from time to time been introduced in state legislatures, the end result usually has been to strengthen these rather than do away with them. *If there is a trend, it has been in the direction of increasing the role or power of such boards and in some cases substituting for a coordinating structure a consolidated governing board structure.* The last state to move from voluntary coordination to a statutory coordinating board was Indiana in 1971. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, three states that began with coordinating boards replaced these with consolidated governing boards (Utah (1969), North Carolina (1972) and Wisconsin (1973)). In the case of Rhode Island, a single governing board for all of education was established, and the law was further clarified and strengthened in 1973. The tendency to move from coordinating to governing structures may not be over; discussions of the possibility of such moves are going on in other states at the present time.

Since 1970, apart from the changes from coordinating to governing board structures, 20 states have taken legislative or constitutional

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*Florida has a unique situation, in that the board of education is also the coordinating board for all of education, whereas the Board of Regents is the governing agency for senior institutions.

action to modify their existing coordinating or governing structures, and of these changes, with one exception (South Carolina), the action has strengthened rather than weakened the respective boards.

Among the questions that are recurrent and persistent are: (1) What is an appropriate structure? (2) Is the existing structure adequate to meet the needs of the state as perceived by legislators, governors, institutions and the general public? (3) Can a single governing agency be more responsive in areas of accountability, efficiency, and in decreasing duplication, competition, and in-fighting in the postsecondary or higher education community? (4) Could a single board for all education be even more effective? While it would appear that statewide coordination or governance in some form is here to stay, the probability is high that it always will be open to reconsideration.

One final part of the historical picture, which we will return to later, is the impact of section 1202 in the Education Amendments of 1972 that mandates the establishment of state postsecondary education commissions by designation of existing agencies, augmentation of existing agencies, or creation of new agencies. All three states that had no coordinating or governing agencies at that time—Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont—established state postsecondary commissions by executive order. Establishment of these commissions means that currently all 50 states have state boards or agencies responsible in some fashion for higher or postsecondary education.

This chapter began with the question, What constitutes a state board of higher education? For the purposes of this discussion the broad, pragmatic, and inclusive definition of a state board of higher education is one established constitutionally, statutorily, or by executive order within a state with responsibility to some degree at least for planning in relation to postsecondary or higher education, and involving at a minimum the senior public institutions within that state.

Types of Boards

Functions and Powers

In *Statewide Coordination of Higher Education*, published in 1971, Robert Berdahl utilized material derived from James C. Paltridge (1965) and developed a typology of state coordinating boards or agencies based on the degree of authority exercised by such boards over all senior public institutions within the state (Berdahl 1971, pp. 18-19). Berdahl's typology serves as an important point of reference for other investigators in the field. He divided the states into four categories; (1) states with no coordinating agency; (2) states with voluntary associations; (3) states with statutory coordinating boards not superseding institutional or segmental boards, including (a) boards with majority of institutional members and advisory powers, (b) boards with majority of public members and advisory powers, (c) boards with majority of public members and regulatory powers; and (4) states with a single governing board.

As of 1970, Delaware and Vermont fell under the first category, with no state agency. Two, Indiana and Nebraska, fell under the second category of voluntary associations. Twenty-seven states were in the third category with statutory coordinating boards divided as follows: two with institutional majorities and advisory powers; 11 with public majorities and advisory powers; and 14 with public majorities and regulatory powers. Finally, 19 states were in the governing board category.

Since 1970 there not only has been shifting among the categories, as one would expect, but two of Berdahl's categories (1 and 2) no longer exist or exist primarily as theoretical alternatives. Originally in one of the first two categories, Indiana, as of 1971, now has a statutory coordinating board, while Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont have executively appointed postsecondary education commissions. Although the power of these commissions is limited to coordination planning only, they still constitute state boards with responsibility for planning for all postsecondary education levels.

The disappearance of two categories should not be taken as a sign that boards in the various states have become homogeneous. Their powers and functions still vary considerably. Also, this variance raises some question about the helpfulness, except in general terms, of the subcategories under category 3. A few coordinating boards

have relatively strong regulatory powers in some areas but only advisory powers or no statutory role in others. For example, in New York the Board of Regents could be described as having strong regulatory powers in program approval but no role or a very minimal one in the budgeting process for public institutions. Even among the states with governing boards there are significant differences in scope and role.

The questions of representation and membership have taken on additional dimensions. The trend clearly has been in the direction of public membership. Currently, 25 states have public members on their higher or postsecondary education boards. In seven other states all members are public except for student members (three states) and an ex-officio member or two (five states). In four states (five including the Florida Board of Education) the members are elected either directly (Michigan, Nevada, and the Florida Board of Education) or by the legislature (New York and North Carolina). In 11 states the majority of members are public. In two states (Vermont and Washington) the membership is divided equally between public and representative members. Finally, there are three states in which the majority of members are institutional or representative, or other than public (Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Wyoming). The complicating factor is the requirement for representation in the federal legislation (1202) authorizing state postsecondary commissions. This has led to augmenting existing boards in some states when the agency serves as the postsecondary commission, creation of new and sometimes additional agencies in a few states, and rather novel rationales for utilizing existing agencies that are wholly or essentially public in other states (see chapter 3). Of growing concern is representation not of institutions but of women and ethnic minorities among the public members.

On the question of functions and powers there are three major areas in which most boards have some responsibility that is either prescribed by law or developed as policy. These are planning, program approval, and budget development. Boards vary from state to state both in the powers they have for carrying out these functions and in the scope of their applicability. Both the power and the scope of applicability vary in regard to the functions in question. For example, a state board may have major responsibilities in the budgetary process, including recommending a consolidated budget, and only advisory responsibilities in relation to program approval. A state board may have statutory responsibility for planning only for the senior public institutions in the state, and no extension of its

planning functions beyond its statutory base; or it may have statutory planning responsibility for the full range of postsecondary education; or, as a third alternative, it may have statutory responsibility in some areas but as a matter of policy extend its planning functions to other areas. Finally, a board may have executive rather than statutory responsibility for planning in relation to the full range of postsecondary education. In practice a board may be unable to exercise its full statutory responsibility in any one of these three central areas. A board with a relatively restricted or weak statutory base may through leadership and policy development extend its influence considerably beyond what is prescribed by law.

The distinction between coordinating boards and governing boards is obvious. Governing boards are legally responsible for the management and operation of the institutions under their governance. They are involved in the development and recommendation of budgets to the governor and legislature as well as in budget management and operational policies after appropriations are made. They generally are held responsible in post-audit, and have regulatory powers in relation to internal institutional management and operations in general, which coordinating boards usually do not have. They deal directly with presidents and their staffs without other mediating boards. However, in some multicampus systems, there are "Boards of Trustees" (North Carolina) or "Institutional Councils" (Utah) for individual institutions with defined but restricted and/or delegated powers that are not unlike boards of trustees.

Governing boards differ from each other as do coordinating boards. Some governing boards have responsibility for all public institutions, as in Georgia and Wisconsin, and some for senior institutions only (e.g., Arizona and Kansas). In some states their planning responsibilities extend beyond the scope of the institutions they govern.

At the same time there are clear differences between governing boards and coordinating boards; however, in relation to particular functions the distinctions are not always crystalline. Internal budgetary management is a governing board function, but the Board of Regents in Oklahoma (a coordinating board), while not involved in internal institutional budgetary management, not only prepares a consolidated budget but receives a lump sum appropriation that it allocates to the state institutions. In Tennessee the Higher Education Commission does have the post-appropriations function of insuring to the legislature that the institutions have followed legislative rules and guidelines in the use of appropriations.

There would seem to be no simple typology by which boards can

be grouped to indicate even their statutory functions and powers. To gain some indication of the variety of board operations, a series of variables can be set out to provide a framework for discussion. In spite of some ambiguities the distinction between governing and coordinating boards is such a variable. Within each group, especially within the governing boards, type or range of institutions governed is a second variable. If one uses two of the three major functions, program approval and budgetary role, it is possible to develop reasonably helpful distinctions for both coordinating and governing boards. The third function, scope of planning, does not easily fit into the other two, although by noting the range of planning authorized a few significant correlations may emerge. Using these factors, boards tend to fall into three major groupings, with two or more subgroupings under each.

Table 1 is divided into the major groupings of governing boards, statutory or constitutional coordinating boards, and nonstatutory boards. The first group, governing boards, can be subdivided between those with governing responsibility for all public collegiate institutions and those with responsibility for senior institutions only. The second group, coordinating boards, is arranged in six groups, ranging from those with authorization for program approval for all public institutions and who submit consolidated or aggregated system budgets, to those with no program review authority and no statutory role to play in the budgeting process. The third group, nonstatutory boards, is made up of boards or commissions created by executive order (1202 Commissions) for planning purposes, which may or may not have other functions but in most cases administer one or more federal programs. This group is subdivided into those where there is no other statewide higher education agency and those where there are other existing state governing or coordinating structures.

In two states (Alaska and Maine) the planning commissions appear in the coordinating board categories, even though their governing boards are also listed in the table. This is because the postsecondary commissions are statutory commissions with assigned planning and coordinating functions. In all states except Alaska and Maine, and in states that have nonstatutory boards, except for the four states that have no postsecondary education commissions (1202), the regular state higher education agency either as it is or as augmented by additional representation has been designated the state postsecondary education commission.

Table 1: State Coordinating and Governing Boards

I. Governing Boards

A. Program approval and consolidated or aggregated budget—
All public institutions (11)

1. Alaska — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior, community college and postsecondary vocational education

2. Georgia — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior and community college

3. Hawaii — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior, community college and postsecondary vocational education

4. Maine — Board of Trustees (Note: Does not include Maine Maritime Academy or five vocational technical institutes under the Board of Education)
Planning: Public senior and community college

5. Montana — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior and community college

6. Nevada — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior and community college and postsecondary vocational education

7. North Dakota* — Board of Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college and postsecondary vocational education

8. Rhode Island — Board of Regents (Note: Includes all public education in the state)
Planning: All of education, public, private and proprietary (as 1202 commission)

9. Utah — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

10. West Virginia — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior and community college

11. Wisconsin — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior and two-year learning centers

B. Program and consolidated or aggregated budget—
Senior institutions only (7)

1. Arizona — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior

2. Florida — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior

3. Idaho — State Board of Education (Note: While the board reviews and recommends programs for community colleges, it does not have approval authority. State support of community colleges is determined by formula.)
Planning: All of education, public, private and proprietary (as 1202 commission)

*Does not include three community college that are locally autonomous.

4. Iowa — Board of Regents (Note: The Regents have joint statutory responsibility with the State Board of Public Instruction to annually approve aid for the area schools and community colleges, and in this context play a minor role in community college budgets.)
Planning: Public senior

5. Kansas — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior

6. Mississippi — Board of Trustees
Planning: Public senior

7. North Carolina — Board of Governors
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private

8. South Dakota — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior (no community colleges in South Dakota)

II. Coordinating Boards

A. Program approval for all public institutions and recommend consolidated or aggregated budgets (17)

1. Colorado — Commission on Higher Education*
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

2. Connecticut — Commission for Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

3. Illinois — Board of Higher Education
(Note: While the Board proposes an aggregated budget, each of the five segments submit budget bills to the legislature.)
Planning: Public senior, community college and private

4. Indiana — Commission for Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

5. Kentucky — Council on Public Higher Education
(Approval limited to graduate, professional and community college programs.)
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education

7. Massachusetts — Board of Higher Education
Planning: Public senior and community college

8. Missouri — Department of Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

9. New Jersey — Board of Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

10. New Mexico — Board of Educational Finance
(Program approval, graduate programs only)
Planning: Public senior, community college postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

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*Does not include four community colleges that are locally based.

11. Ohio — Board of Regents
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

12. Oklahoma — State Regents for Higher Education (Note: Appropriations made to the Regents and allocated by Regents among institutions)
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

13. Oregon — Educational Coordinating Commission
Planning: All education, public, private and proprietary

14. Pennsylvania — State Department of Education
(Note: Board also has governing budget management responsibilities for "state owned" institutions [state colleges])
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

15. South Carolina — Commission on Higher Education
(Consolidated budget limited to senior institutions.)
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

16. Tennessee — Higher Education Commission
Planning: Public senior and community college

17. Virginia — Council on Higher Education
(Budget recommendations for senior institutions only.)
Planning: Public senior and community college

B. Program review and recommendation and recommend consolidated or aggregated budget. (2)

1. Alabama — Commission on Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college and postsecondary vocational education

2. Arkansas — Department of Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college and private

C. Program review and recommendation. Institutional or segmental budget review and recommendation. (5)

1. Alaska — Commission on Postsecondary Education (1202)
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

2. California — Postsecondary Education Commission
(Note: Budget review consists of analysis of faculty salaries and costs of instruction. Findings available to budget review agencies.)
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

3. Maryland — Council for Higher Education
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

4. Minnesota — Higher Education Coordinating Board
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

5. Washington — Council on Postsecondary Education
Planning: Public senior, community college and private

D. Program approval, all public institutions. Institutional budget review but recommend formulas, not budgets, to governor and legislature (1)

1. Texas — Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

E. Program approval, all public institutions. No statutory role in budgetary process. (2)

1. Michigan — State Board of Education
(Note: The Michigan Board of Education can advise on financial requirements of higher education institutions, but it does not have the statutory authority to review and recommend institutional budgets. Its role in program approval has recently been ruled by the courts to include mandatory review and recommendation for approval or disapproval
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and proprietary

2. New York — Board of Regents
Planning: All education — public, private and proprietary

F. No program review authority. No statutory role in budget process (3)

1. Maine — Postsecondary Education Commission
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education, private and proprietary

2. New Hampshire — Postsecondary Education Commission
Planning: Public senior, community college, postsecondary vocational education and private

3. Wyoming — Higher Education Council
Planning: Public senior and community college

III. Nonstatutory and nonconstitutional boards—created by executive order. Planning functions but no program approval or budgetary functions.

A. States with statewide postsecondary education commissions only (1202) (3)

1. Delaware — Postsecondary Education Commission
Planning: All postsecondary education (public, private and proprietary)

2. Nebraska — Coordinating Council for Postsecondary Education
Planning: All postsecondary education (public, private and proprietary)

3. Vermont — Higher Education Planning Commission
Planning: All postsecondary education (public, private and proprietary)

B. States with postsecondary commissions (1202) in addition to existing governing or coordinating boards (8). All eight have planning responsibilities, all postsecondary education, public, private and proprietary.

Alabama — Postsecondary 1202 Commission
Arizona — Commission for Postsecondary Education
Florida — State-Planning Council for Post-High School Education
Georgia — Postsecondary Education Commission
Kansas — Legislative Educational Planning Committee
Kentucky — Commission for Postsecondary Education
Mississippi — Postsecondary Education Planning Board
Texas — Governor's Advisory Committee on Postsecondary Educational Planning

There are a number of factors to be noted about the table. First, the table is based upon reports by the higher education agencies in the states and reverified by these agencies (Berve 1975, pp. 297-352). It may in some cases reflect the agencies' interpretation of the law rather than the exact wording of the law. Second, it would seem clear that in some few instances the present political and academic situation inhibits the board from carrying out its full statutory responsibilities.

Third, the powers, functions, structures and titles of boards are subject to legislative change and any table at best reflects a current moment. Since the structural survey published in *Higher Education in the States* in July of 1975, three states, Minnesota, Oregon and Washington, have adopted new laws modifying the functions and powers and changed the names of their agencies. In addition, Maine has adopted legislation making its postsecondary commission statutory. These changes are reflected in the table.

Fourth, perhaps of more importance today than authority to approve new programs is the authority to review existing programs with recommendations for their discontinuance. The table could and should be modified to show this when and if definitive information is available. While the authority of governing boards to discontinue programs would seem to be clear, whether the power is exercised or not it is not as clear at this stage in relation to coordinating boards. Even among governing board states, a number, such as Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Mississippi, Nevada, North Dakota, Rhode Island and South Dakota, currently do not have procedures for review of existing programs. Wisconsin has perhaps the most highly developed existing program audit system and Hawaii is not far behind. Among coordinating boards New York and New Jersey have well developed review systems (Barak 1975). In a number of states the issue has not yet been joined even to the extent of determining whether approval of new programs carries with it the authority to review existing programs. As critical as this function is likely to be in the future it is not sufficiently complete at this stage to be reflected in the table.

Fifth, there are a series of other functions boards may or do perform that are relevant in assessing the scope and power of boards, and that are not reflected in the table. We will turn to some of these shortly, but it should not be assumed that the table is more than a rough index. The assessment of the role of a board in a particular state will need to include additional factors that cannot be included in any single table.

In relation to the actual functioning of boards, some boards as a

matter of policy rather than by specific statutory requirement have extended their activities in the three critical areas to complement their statutory mandates. Six states (Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee and West Virginia) by policy include private institutions in the planning process, two (Arkansas and Idaho) by virtue of their 1202 functions, and four (Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee and West Virginia) because it is essential to effective planning in relation to their boards' mandates to plan for public institutions. (The Kentucky and Tennessee boards are not 1202 commissions, and the board in Massachusetts involved the private institutions from its operational inception in 1965). Seven states (Arkansas, Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Washington, and Wyoming) have extended planning by policy to include proprietary institutions, and three states (Illinois, Kentucky, and Washington) have also included public vocational technical education. Three states (Idaho, Michigan, and Wyoming) have extended their institutional budgetary review: in the case of Idaho to the community colleges, and in the cases of Michigan and Wyoming to senior institutions and community colleges—although in the case of Michigan the ability of the Board of Education to do so has been limited by court decision. As a matter of policy the Wyoming Higher Education Council reviews and recommends new programs both at senior institutions and community colleges, but it does not have statutory program approval. The Idaho Board of Regents as a matter of policy reviews and recommends new programs for community colleges.

In most of the states where the board plays a strong budgetary role it also plays an important role in program approval. With the exceptions of Idaho and North Carolina, the states with governing boards responsible for senior public institutions also play only the most restricted role in planning. This helps to explain why in these states the higher education boards, with the exception of Idaho, were not designated state postsecondary education commissions. There is no regular pattern with regard to scope of planning responsibilities in relation to program approval and budgetary role; however, the states in which boards have limited or no statutory responsibilities in these areas tend to have broad planning responsibilities. Even among consolidated governing boards, not only as in North Carolina and Idaho but also as in Rhode Island, Hawaii and Utah, the planning responsibilities extend considerably beyond their range of governance.

Among those functions directly related to planning, program approval, and budgeting are the development of data bases and man-

agement information systems. To some extent all state boards or agencies are concerned with developing more adequate data bases, although the degree of sophistication and effectiveness of data collection and analysis varies considerably from state to state. Robert Barak (1974) of the Iowa Board of Regents performed a survey of the state-level management information systems for higher education. He used three criteria to determine the extent to which states approximated a fully developed management information system: (1) having a formally planned, integrated information system using information generated by operational levels to develop information immediately available and relevant to problems and objectives of decision makers; (2) utilizing analytic tools and programs in the areas of finance, facilities, students, faculty, nonacademic staff, and academic programs; and (3) having all the tools and programs at a stage for use in decision making. He found of the 43 states responding only two (Ohio and Tennessee) met the criteria of having developed state-level management information systems. A number of other states were well along in the development of these systems (Colorado, Georgia, Maine, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon and Washington). Other states were at lesser stages of development and had some tools but not others, or were in the process of developing them. There were, however, nine states that at that time had no management information systems (Delaware, Idaho, Louisiana, Missouri, New Hampshire, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming—this is not to say that boards in these states did or did not collect information, but rather that it was done in terms of an integrated system). Since then the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, with a grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, has been working with a number of states to develop such information-base systems.

A second function closely related to planning and budgeting development is delineating priorities in capital budget requests. Nineteen of the governing-board states and seventeen of the coordinating-board states recommend capital budgets to the governor and legislature. While this might not be as critical a function in the mid-1970's as it was during the period of expansion in the 1960's, it is still of major importance not only in relation to new construction but in renovation and modification of existing structures.

A third additional function is management of student aid programs. In 27 states the coordinating or governing board also serves as the student aid agency. However, even in some of those states, such as Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York, where the student

aid agency is separate from the state board of higher or postsecondary education, there usually is a high degree of cooperation between the board and the student aid agency. Given the present climate of federal student aid programs, and the need for closer state and federal cooperation in this area, most states have recognized that including planning for student aid is integral to effective statewide planning.

In at least 24 states the state higher education agency also administers two or more federal programs, including Title I, Continuing Education and Community Service (22 states), Title IV, Undergraduate Equipment (24 states), and Title VII, Higher Education Facilities (24 states). This does not include states where the state postsecondary education Commission (1202) is separate from the state higher education board and has been assigned these functions. In some states, for example New Jersey, these programs have been administered by the state board either from the inception of the program or from the inception of the board. The Education Amendments of 1972, while not mandating consolidation of federal program administration, encourage further movement in this direction.

Finally, as an additional function, the responsibility for authorizing, approving, chartering, or licensing new degree-granting institutions rests with the state higher education board in 21 states. In 11 states this responsibility rests with the state board of education, and in five other states with separate agencies. The picture across the country is uneven. Thirteen states have no approval or licensing agency for degree-granting institutions at the present time (Approaches To State . . . 1975, p. 66-70). However, with increasing concern about consumer protection in postsecondary education, this is a function that is likely to become progressively more important and it is one area in which some uniformity among the states would be highly desirable.

Structures

A number of structural issues, such as representation on boards and, in the case of governing boards, the types of institutions for which the board is responsible, have been covered in the discussion of functions and powers. There are, however, a series of structural issues that need comment. At the outset it should again be said that each state structure is unique and reflects historical and other differences among the states. An adequate discussion of structures would require a state-by-state analysis. The Education Commis-

sion of the States, in cooperation with National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, will soon publish individual state profiles that will help to meet this need. It is possible here to indicate some of the areas in which there are significant differences or trends.

We have indicated that with the exceptions of North Carolina and Utah, where there are trustees or councils for the individual institutions, most governing boards work directly with the multiple institutions under their aegis. Among coordinating board states the situation varies from state to state. In some states the coordinating board deals primarily with what can be described as segmental boards, as in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, and Tennessee. In California, for example, the three segments, each of which includes multiple institutions, are the Board of Regents of the University of California, the Board of Trustees, California State University and Colleges, and the Board of Governors, California Community Colleges. In most of these states the major university has its own board but is itself a multicampus system. In other states, such as Virginia, New Mexico, New Jersey and Arkansas, the board deals with boards of trustees of individual institutions rather than systems, even though some of these institutions may be multicampus. In a third group of states the situation is mixed, with some individual institutions and some multicampus systems, as in Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Washington, and Colorado.

One issue of concern in a number of legislatures is the matter of proliferation of boards. Some legislators and governors argue that such proliferation is unnecessary, costly, and results in dispersion of authority and reduced accountability. This is an argument frequently made for moving toward a single, consolidated governing board. On the other hand, a strong case can be made that individual boards of trustees are far more likely to be responsive to needs of individual campuses and help preserve within a coordinated system the leeway or functional autonomy commensurate with academic responsibilities and initiative (Millett 1975).

One area that has appeared to be particularly complex is the relation of community college systems to statewide governing and coordinating boards. In a number of states community colleges began under the auspices of state boards of education and in the initial stages seemed more closely related to secondary education than to senior collegiate institutions. They were and are in most cases more closely related to local communities and are designed to meet local

community needs. In the majority of states community colleges receive tax funds from their local communities as well as from student fees and from state government. However, in about 10 states community colleges are almost entirely state funded (Wattenbarger and Starnes 1973, p. 58).

As community college systems developed they became progressively more identified with higher education and less identified as extensions of secondary education. This is because (1) currently in the majority of states the community colleges fall under the state higher education boards or agencies; and (2) because in an increasing number of states all or a major share of the funding comes from the state.

Currently there are only six states (Arizona, Florida,* Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi and North Carolina) where community colleges do not fit into the higher education coordination or governance structure.** To these six must be added the three states with planning commissions only (Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont). In the six states where the community colleges do not fall within purview of the state higher education agency the higher education board is a governing board for senior institutions only. In four of these six states (Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina) the community colleges are under the board of education, although the University of North Carolina does have planning responsibilities that include community colleges. In a fifth state, Florida, the Division of Community Colleges is a separate but coequal unit within the Department of Education along with the Board of Regents. In a sixth state, Arizona, the community colleges have their own separate board, the State Board of Directors for Community Colleges. In all three of the states with postsecondary planning commissions only the community colleges have their own boards, or, in the case of Nebraska, an advisory council.

Among the other states there are, however, a number of variants. In Alabama, although the Commission on Higher Education is responsible for coordinating the community colleges with the rest of the higher educational system, it coordinates through the Alabama Board of Education, which also serves as the community college governing board. In Kentucky the community colleges are part of the University of Kentucky system. In some states, for example

*In Florida both community colleges and the Board of Regents are responsible to the Board of Education as part of the total state system of education.

**With the exception of four states, where some community colleges are separate from the state community college system and are usually under community control.

Georgia and Oklahoma, there are in addition to the state supported community colleges some locally supported community colleges. In a number of states, such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Texas, there are also two-year branches of the major universities as well as community colleges. In Wisconsin, while the state university has 14 two-year centers, there are three community or junior colleges responsible to the State Board of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education. In Texas, while the 52 community colleges are directly responsible to the Coordinating Council, they also are responsible to the Texas Education Agency for funding of occupational and vocational programs. Structurally then, the relations between community colleges and statewide coordinating or governing boards vary considerably. The state directors of community colleges have their own organization, the National Council of State Directors of Community and Junior Colleges, and the titles of the directors reflect this divergence.

This situation in relation to postsecondary vocational technical education is, if anything, even more complex and confused than it is in relation to community colleges. The problems in vocational-technical education are complex. Community colleges frequently offer more than 50 percent of their programs in occupational education; yet many states have vocational technical institutes and area vocational schools, in some cases degree-granting. Often these institutes and schools are under boards or bureaus of vocational education that either are the state board of education or are located within them (35). The presence of federal funding, including funds set aside for postsecondary vocational education through boards of vocational education, tends to aggravate the situation and lead to jurisdictional problems.

In the eight states with single boards for all of education these problems should be minimized. In the one state where the state higher education agency is the board of vocational education, Hawaii, the problem for postsecondary education does not exist. The problem tends to be minimized in the three states with separate boards of vocational education, which include representatives of both higher and elementary-secondary education (Indiana, Washington, and Wisconsin). Colorado has solved the problem by creating separate staffs for their community colleges and occupational education. The State Board for Community Colleges and Occupational Education is included under the coordinating agency but is responsible to the board of education for coordination of secondary vocational education. In many of the other state lines of responsibility are less clear, and the

potential for conflict is considerable (McGuinness 1975a). The creation of state postsecondary commissions has to some extent alleviated many problems in some states but has by no means resolved them. Among the major stumbling blocks to establishment of such commissions was concern over division of responsibility in vocational-technical education.

Among the most important issues in relation to state higher or post-secondary education board structure and effectiveness is the character and quality of the executive officer and staff. This has been noted by almost every commentator on state coordination and governance over the period of the last 20 years. Since it is the executive director whose responsibility it is to see that the board receives appropriate information, who recommends to the board priorities and policies, and who interprets board actions to institutions and the officers of state government, the quality and personality of the director, including how he is perceived and the confidence in which he is held by the educational and political communities, frequently is crucial to the success or failure of the board itself. Not only have Lyman Glenny (1959; 1966; 1971a), Robert Berdahl (1971) and others stressed the importance of salary and position for the director, but the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended:

> *That states review the funding levels of their coordinating agencies to determine if the levels permit attention to the broader funcions of coordination or only to those minimum duties legally required of the agencies.*
> *That states take steps to attract staff members of the ability, stature, and sensitivity required to carry out the complex tasks of the agencies (Carnegie Commission* 1971, p. 30).

Often the importance of the executive director can be ascertained by the salary paid in relation to that of a ranking university president. Other indicators of status are how the executive director is chosen, the size and quality of the support staff, and whether the director has cabinet status in the executive branch of government. The development of state secretaries of education and cabinet status for postsecondary education boards and agencies have important implications for educational institutions and structures, since these are completely different concepts of administering education in the states (see Harcleroad 1975, p. 6). Cabinet status has the advantage, at least in theory, of assuring direct communication with the governor and closer articulation with related departments. It can be a disadvantage if it isolates the postsecondary education board from the legislature.

State Postsecondary Education Commissions

Until recently the federal role in higher and postsecondary education has been minimal with three exceptions. The first major exception was the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1863, which became the basis for the development of many of the leading state universities and university systems of the country and broadened the concept of higher learning to include the practical as well as the liberal arts. The second was the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which reasserted the federal interest in vocational education begun by the Morrill Act. This was a unique piece of legislation in that it provided funding in perpetuity for categorical vocational education programs (Bender 1973 p. 1). It was primarily aimed at secondary education and its significance for postsecondary education was not realized at the time. Among other things it established separate organizational structures at federal, state, and local levels. The third was the G.I. Bill of World War II and its subsequent updatings. It should be noted that the G.I. Bill was not designed to help institutions of higher education but to aid and reward returning veterans for service to the nation.

Beginning with the mid 1950's federal interest began to change rapidly and radically. More federal legislation affecting higher education was passed from that point to the present than in the entire history of this country. The landmark pieces of legislation included the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Education Professions Development Act of 1967, the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, the Health Manpower Act of 1963, and the Nurse Training Act of 1964, among others. The government was in the business of higher education support and direction through categorical programs and was there to stay. At the same time it had become even more involved in elementary-secondary education, particularly through the Elementary-Secondary Act of 1965.

There was, however, a striking difference between the government's mode of involvement in elementary-secondary education and in higher education. To a major extent federal programs in elementary-secondary education not only recognized the state role but operated through and were designed to strengthen the state departments of

education. In contrast, much of the legislation affecting higher education was written without reference to the state roles and responsibilities except in automatic appropriation distribution formulas. The difference in approach is illustrated in the National Defense Educaton Act of 1958. Each of the titles or parts of the Act primarily concerned with elementary-secondary education was to be administered through the state education agencies. In contrast, none of the provisions relating to higher education made any reference to state higher education agencies. Interestingly, the original House of Representatives bill for the Act did contain a provision for a state scholarship program, including a requirement for a state commission and plan, but this was dropped in the final Act. Only 23 states had such agencies at the time, yet the pattern continued throughout the 1960's.

There were exceptions. The most striking was in the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, which was to be administered through a state agency. The language read as follows:

> Sec. 105 (a) any state desiring to participate in the grant program under this title shall designate for that purpose an existing state agency which is broadly representative of the public and private institutions of higher education (including junior colleges and technical institutes) in the state, or, if no such agency exists, shall establish such a state agency, and submit to the Commissioner through the agency so designated or established . . . a state plan for such participation.

The wording is significant, and in fact served as the initial model for the state postsecondary education commission's legislation developed in 1972. Beyond the facilities act (to become Title VII of the Higher Education Act of 1965), the Higher Education Act of 1965 recognized the state role in four additional programs: Title I, Community Service and Continuing Education, which required the states to "designate or create a state agency or institution" with special qualifications in the area of solving community problems; Title II, Part A, College Library Resources, required institutions receiving grants to periodically inform the appropriate state agency (if any) concerned with all higher education institutions in the state; Title VI, Part A, Equipment for Improvement of Undergraduate Instruction, required an administrative and planning agency of the same kind as that required under the Higher Education Facilities Act; and Title IV, Part B, the Insured Loan Program, provided for state loan insurance programs on condition that they be administered by a single state agency. Apart from these, however, there was little or no recognition on the part of the federal govern-

ment that by 1970 all but three states had created their own state higher education boards or agencies, and these agencies were engaged to a greater or lesser degree in continuous statewide planning.

As the decade of the sixties drew to a close and the time began to approach for revision and renewal of the Higher Education Act of 1965 a number of groups became concerned with a clearer federal recognition of the role of the states in higher education. The executive officers of the state higher education governing or coordinating boards, even though originally few in number, had met annually from 1953 primarily to share experiences. By 1967 most of the states were represented in the group and the members became increasingly concerned with issues of state-federal relations in higher education. Federal policy and programs were having a major impact on higher educational institutions in terms of growth, program development, and categorical financial support. Yet the state boards and agencies responsible for planning and coordination of state higher education systems to insure orderly development and effective educational opportunity within the states were frequently neither involved in nor informed of federal-institutional programs or activities. Accordingly, the executive officers restructured their organization as the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association (SHEEO), established a federal relations committee, and became active in the attempt to insure *a more* effective federal *recognition* of the crucial role the states were playing through state boards in planning and coordinating higher and postsecondary education at the state levels.

In 1966 the Education Commission of the States (ECS) came into existence as a compact among the states concerned with bringing the political and educational forces within the states closer together, sharing information on education among the states, considering policy and policy alternatives relating to education within and among the states, and between states and the federal government, strengthening education in the states, and making sure that the states' points of view receive reasonable consideration on national levels. In 1969 the Commission added a Department of Higher Education Services. At the November 1969 meeting in St. Louis, the Steering Committee of ECS authorized formation of four task forces: one on statewide comprehensive planning for postsecondary education, one on student aid, one on community colleges, and one on postsecondary vocational education. Among other things, each was charged with exploring state-federal relations in the area in question. The task force on comprehensive statewide planning was chaired

by Governor Richard Ogilvie of Illinois and included representatives of higher educational institutions, state higher education agencies, persons in educational research, and members of the political community. The task force completed its work and its report was adopted by the ECS Steering Committee in March of 1971.

Two passages from the task force report are particularly pertinent. The first is an introductory statement:

> The primary responsibility for effective planning for postsecondary education, public and private, rests with the states. The need for such planning is constant. To be effective, it must embrace the full system of postsecondary educational activities—short-term occupational education, community colleges and technical institutes, four-year institutions, and graduate and professional schools (Education Commission of the States 1973a, p. 1).

The second is the initial recommendation under the section on federal responsibility:

> Recommended: That the federal government make a substantial and continuing matching (but not necessarily equal) fund commitment to each state which has a legally authorized comprehensive statewide planning process for postsecondary education, including both public and nonpublic institutions (p. 1).

All *four* of the task forces stressed the *importance* of developing an effective state-federal partnership in their areas of concern.

The National Governors Conference has tended over the years to devote its midwinter Washington meeting to state-federal relations. As the time approached for consideration of what were to become the Education Amendments of 1972 a special committee on higher education legislation was set up with Governor Ogilvie as chairman. The function of the committee was to insure that the new legislation reflected more accurately the states' concerns and the role and input of the states in national higher education policy development. The governors would like to have seen state involvement not only in planning but in the administration and distribution of most federal higher education funds. The National Legislative Conference joined the Governors Conference in urging more recognition in federal legislation of the states' role in higher education.

Work on the revisions of the Higher Education Act of 1965 began in the 91st Congress in late 1969 and 1970 but serious movement toward passage of the new act waited until the convening of the 92nd Congress in 1971. The bills from each house went to the conference committee in the spring of 1972. The Conference Com-

mittee reached agreement on May 17th. The Education Amendments Act of 1972 was passed and then signed by the President on June 23rd (for a detailed history of the bill and its development see McGuinness, McKinney and Millard, *The Changing of Postsecondary Education*. Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1975, chapter 1). Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Education, called the Act a landmark piece of legislation. And indeed it was. Although important parts of the Act never have been funded and funding has been minimal for other parts, the total impact of the bill on institutions, states, and students has been major. The Act literally has changed the ground rules, and, whether intentionally or not, has redefined the roles and responsibilities of institutions, states, and the government.

The first and perhaps most important impact of the Act was that it redefined the universe of federal and state concern with post-high school education from higher education to postsecondary education. Traditionally, we have tended to think of the educational system as being made up of elementary-secondary schools and colleges and universities. The Act made it clear that this view it totally inadequate.

> We suddenly discovered that the number of people involved in education beyond the high school or over the age of compulsory school attendance was more than triple the number of students in collegiate institutions. According to the National Commission on the Financing Postsecondary Education, 9.3 million students were in collegiate institutions in 1973, but in excess of 34 million students (this figure may be conservative) are engaged in other kinds of postsecondary education. From the standpoint of statewide planning alone, any major shifts among students in different categories of postsecondary education could radically change concerns for the types of institutions being planned (Millard 1975, p. 6; National Commission 1974, pp. 13-18).

This shift has created problems of definition, raised questions in relation to adequacy of management information systems, and greatly increased the institutions, agencies, and groups that need to be involved in the planning process and that are recognizably affected by state-level planning decisions.

The Act went considerably beyond theoretically changing the universe. It implemented the change in four ways with direct impact on the states. First, under Title IV on student assistance it made students in accredited or otherwise eligible proprietary schools eligible for student assistance. Second, in Section 140, it established a National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education, charged to investigate the financing of not only higher education but postsecondary education also, including the appropriate role for

the states in funding, and instructed it to report back its findings and recommendations. Although the Commission in its final report dealt primarily with higher education and said little about the states, its very discussion of the components of postsecondary education makes it difficult for the state to overlook them in future discussions.

Third, the Act contained a State Student Incentive Grant Program providing matching federal funds for new or expanded state student aid programs. It thus recognized for the first time the important role the states are playing in student aid and opened the way for subsequent discussions of a state-federal partnership in student aid (not yet fully realized). The program called for a single state agency to administer state student aid programs. While the program has been funded at less than authorization, and the authorization level is low ($50 million), some 49 states and territories have taken part in the program to date. In addition, it has focused attention on the importance of including student aid in the general planning process.

Fourth, and more dramatic, Section 1202 of the Act provided that any state that desires to receive funds under Title X, Part A (community colleges), Title X, Part B (occupational education), or Section 1203 (comprehensive statewide planning) shall establish or designate a State Postsecondary Commission "which is broadly and equitably representative of the general public and public and private nonprofit and proprietary institutions of postsecondary education in the state including community colleges . . ., junior colleges, post-secondary vocational schools, area vocational schools, technical institutes, four-year institutions of higher education and branches thereof" (U.S. Congress 1975, p. 432). The Act encouraged but did not mandate consolidation of other federal programs, in particular Community Service and Continuing Education (Title I), Equipment for Improvement of Undergraduate Instruction (Title VI), and Higher Education Facilities (Title VII) under the State Postsecondary Education Commissions. Finally, under Section 1203 (a) it provided that "The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to any State Commission established pursuant to Section 1202 (a) to enable it to expand the scope of studies and planning required in Title X through comprehensive inventories of, and studies with respect to all public and private postsecondary education in the state, including planning necessary for such resources to be better coordinated, improved, expanded, or altered so that all persons within the state who desire, and can benefit from, postsecondary education, may have an opportunity to do so" (p. 432-33).

In connection with Title X, Part A, on community colleges, the

Act provided that the State Postsecondary Commission should develop a statewide plan for community colleges relating such planning to planning for postsecondary education as a whole. It also assigned responsibility for planning for state occupational education programs under Title X, Part B, to the State Postsecondary Education Commissions. Finally, the Act in setting up the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (Section 404) provided that any grant to an institution under the fund shall be reviewed by the state postsecondary education agency from that state for comments before the grant is awarded.

From the beginning Section 1202 was surrounded with controversy. In spite of the fact that the section had been in both the Senate and House bills (in the Senate bill from the first draft) and in both original bills was not specifically tied to categorical programs for community colleges or occupational education, the higher education institutional community had paid little attention to it and it took many of them by surprise. Some representatives of the community colleges and the vocational education community seemed to think Section 1202 was an afterthought to enable Congress to get both bills (community college and occupational education) into the final Act. Questions were raised in regard to congressional intent even by some members of the conference committee, who differed in their interpretation of what they had done. Now that the initial confusion has settled, it seems clear that the original thrust toward Sections 1202 and 1203 came from the state higher education boards and agencies and was based on the premise that the government should not only recognize and reinforce what the states were doing in planning but that federal programs should take cognizance of and utilize the planning operations and capacities already in operation in the states. Regardless of the particular motives at the time:

> The genius of the Conference Committee lay in its recognition that planning for segments of postsecondary education such as community colleges and occupational education cannot and should not occur in a vacuum, that it should be integrally related to planning for postsecondary education as a whole within a state and that such planning should be sufficiently inclusive to include private and proprietary as well as public higher education (McGuinness et al., 1975, p. 109).

In spite of unprecedented efforts by Joseph P. Cosand, then Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education in the Office of Education, to involve a wide range of the postsecondary education community on consultation in the development of guidelines and in the implementation of the Act, the guidelines were not released, the Ad-

ministration refused to recommend funding for Section 1203 on the grounds that it would encourage states to seek funding for Titles X, Parts A and B, and implementation at the federal level came to a standstill. In April of 1973 the House Special Subcommittee on Education held oversight hearings. Congressman James O'Hara, Chairman of the Subcommittee, suggested that if the Administration refused to take action he could see no reason "why a state cannot go ahead and establish a 1202 Commission. What do they need regulations for?" (Congress 1973, p. 54).

Although Congress had approved use of Higher Education Facilities Administration Funds for establishment of State Postsecondary Commissions in 1972, the Administration refused to use these funds for this purpose. Finally, in November of 1973 Congress not only made funds ($3 million) available to implement state postsecondary commissions and to phase out the facilities commissions, but through exchange on the house floor Congressman John Dellenbeck made clear congressional intent that the funds were to be so used. As a result the then acting Commissioner of Education, John Ottina, on the first of March 1974, sent letters to the governors of the states inviting them to establish State Postsecondary Commissions on the basis of the law without benefit of guidelines. The governors could do so by creating a new agency, designating an existing agency, or augmenting an existing agency to meet the representation requirements of the law. (A more detailed analysis of the steps between passage and implementation is contained in McGuinness et al., 1975, pp. 51-74). It should be noted that after the Office of Education had reserved two of the three million dollars for phasing out facilities commissions, the amount available to any state that first year was approximately $26,000.

Within the first year, with no guidelines and with no assurance of funding or implementation, seventeen states had in fact followed Congressman O'Hara's advice and established state postsecondary commissions. In most cases these early actions were by executive order and designated the existing state higher education agency. However, in New Mexico the legislature expanded the planning scope of the Board of Education Finance to include all of postsecondary education. California was in the process of a major reassessment of its master plan and structure for higher education coordination. The California legislature replaced the Coordinating Council for Higher Education with the Postsecondary Education Commission designed to meet both state needs and federal requirements. The California act was passed in 1974 but the bill had been under

consideration before the Commissioner's letter implementing the federal legislation.

Implementing the commissions did cause problems for a number of states. Some of the problems arose out of the controversies following enactment of the bill among national representatives of interest groups, and this was reflected in turn on state levels. Because of the uneasy relations between the higher education community and the vocational educational community (see chapter two), the vocational education community was concerned that unless vocational education had strong or dominant representation on the commissions, even though in relation to federal law these new commissions were planning commissions only, they might lose some of their operational base. They were matched by some representatives of the higher education community, who were and still are less than convinced that vocational education and senior collegiate institutions have very much in common. The situation was more difficult in states with governing rather than coordinating boards, particularly where the governing boards represented senior public institutions only. Part of the concern related to the question as to whether a governing board did not constitute an interest group and even if augmented would not be able to plan objectively for postsecondary education as a whole. It is not surprising that it is primarily but not exclusively in states with senior public institutional governing boards that separate state postsecondary commissions have been established.

In spite of the problems, however, the surprising factor to most people was the overwhelmingly positive response to the Commissioner's letter. Forty-three states plus the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Guam, and Puerto Rico took action to establish commissions on or before the deadline to receive funding during fiscal year 1974-1975. One additional state, Alaska, expressed its desire to establish a commission but needed to do so by legislative action that could not take place in time for the deadline. Only six states (Colorado, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin) and the Virgin Islands elected not to establish commissions at that time. Since April 25, 1974, Alaska, Kentucky, Virginia, and the Virgin Islands have established commissions, bringing the total states to 46 and including all other eligible units. The matter still is under consideration in Colorado and Tennessee.

Technically, 17 states plus the District of Columbia, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands have established new commissions; 19 states designated existing commissions; and 10 states, Guam and Puerto Rico augmented existing commissions (see Table 2). Table

Table 2 Options Chosen by States and Eligible Territories in Establishing Section 1202 State Commissions***

New Commission	Existing Agency or Commission	Augmented Agency or Commission	No Commission
Alabama	Connecticut	Arkansas	Colorado
Alaska[1]	Florida[6]	Hawaii	North Carolina
Arizona	Idaho	Massachusetts[5]	Tennessee
California[2]	Illinois	New Jersey	Wisconsin
Delaware	Indiana	North Dakota	
D.C.	Iowa[4]	Pennsylvania	
Georgia	Louisiana	Rhode Island	
Kansas	Maryland	South Carolina	
Kentucky[1]	Michigan	Utah	
Maine	Minnesota	Washington	
Mississippi	Missouri	Guam	
Nebraska	Montana	Puerto Rico	
Nevada[3]	New Mexico		
New Hampshire[2]	New York		
South Dakota[2]	Ohio		
Texas	Oklahoma		
Vermont	Oregon		
West Virginia[3]	Virginia[1]		
American Samoa	Wyoming		
Virgin Islands[1]			

*Adapted from McGuinness et al., 1975, pp. 51-74. (Original table as of April 1975; updated as of March 1976.)

**Source: Letters from governors to the U.S. Commissioner of Education and related correspondence with executive officers of state commissions.

Note:

1 Not established in time for funding during 1974-75.

2 Established prior to March 1, 1974.

3 Includes all members of an existing board.

4 Higher Education Facilities Commission.

5 Utilizing Board of Higher Education but staffed by Secretary of Educational Affairs.

6 Formerly the State Planning Council for Post High School Education, currently the Florida Post-Secondary Commission, the commission is responsible to the Florida Board of Education.

2 does not give a wholly accurate picture of the relation of existing state coordinating and governing boards to the postsecondary commissions. By far the majority of the states elected to continue but broaden the planning functions and perspectives of their existing state higher or postsecondary education boards and agencies. However, of the 31 states utilizing existing boards, Iowa rather than designating the Iowa Board of Regents designated its Higher Education Facilities Commission, and Massachusetts, while augmenting its Board of Higher Education, staffed it as the Postsecondary Education Commission not by the Chancellor and his staff but by the Secretary of Education and his staff. Maine, which began by designating the augmented Board of Education by executive order, has more recently (July 1975) passed legislation creating a new and separate commission on postsecondary education.

The 17 states apparently creating new agencies fall into two groups. The first group is made up of states in which there is no duplicate or additional statewide higher education board or in which an existing governing board for purposes of the Act is included within the commission. Nevada and West Virginia are cases in point. In both states the postsecondary commissions include all of the boards of regents in those states that augmented and utilized their regular staffs. While the regents for legal reasons could not be augmented as regents, they constitute the basic commissions and thus are in effect augmented agencies rather than wholly new agencies. In three states, California, New Hampshire, and South Dakota plus the District of Columbia the postsecondary commissions, while new, were created, as a result of state reorganization, as planning and coordinating agencies for these states by legislative action prior to activation of Section 1202. Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont had no statewide higher education agencies. In two of these, Nebraska and Vermont, the commissions were appointed on an interim basis to develop plans for coordination and planning in these states on a more permanent basis. The Nebraska commission has developed and recommended such a plan; although it has not yet been acted upon by the legislature, the commission has been continued pending such action.

The second group includes those states in which a new commission was established, although a governing or coordinating board already existed and continues to exist. Five of these states are governing board states (Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Kansas, and Maine). In one of these, Kansas, the created 1202 Commission is a legislative committee that was already investigating a possible

comprehensive planning and coordinating structure for postsecondary education for the state, and with its new designation it is continuing this operation. Postsecondary commissions have been created in only three states with coordinating boards (Alabama, Kentucky, and Texas). Initially the Governor of Minnesota created an agency different from the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Board, but within a year the new commission was abolished and the Higher Education Coordinating Board was designated the State Postsecondary Education Commission. In Texas, Governor Preston Smith designated the Texas Coordinating Board the 1202 Commission but his successor, Governor Dolph Briscoe, rescinded the designation and appointed a separate commission on an interim basis to review the planning and coordinating structure in the state and make appropriate recommendations on what the permanent postsecondary commission should be. Governor Briscoe's decision was due to a large extent to the peculiar dual and divided responsibility in Texas for occupational education in community colleges between the Texas Education Agency and the Coordinating Board. Except in occupational education, community college activities fall under the coordinating board; even in occupational education the coordinating commission must approve programs, although they are funded through the Texas Education Agency. After a year's deliberations, the Postsecondary Commission recommended that the Coordinating Board become the permanent 1202 Commission. However, the Governor has not acted on the recommendation and the life of the interim commission continues.

In 1975 Oregon, Minnesota, and Washington took legislative action to change the names and structures of their state boards. What was once the Oregon Coordinating Council is now the Oregon Coordinating Commission; the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Commission became a Coordinating Board; and what was once the Washington Council on Higher Education is now the Washington Council on Postsecondary Education. Interestingly, the structural changes in the boards in Washington and Oregon involved decreasing (in the case of Oregon deleting) nonpublic representation, but there can be little question that the name changes reflect the 1202 legislation.

Looked at with these qualifications, only nine states (Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi and Texas) created wholly new postsecondary commissions in place of existing state higher education coordinating or governing boards.

Of these, Alabama, Kentucky, and Texas have coordinating boards while the other six have consolidated governing boards.

The critical question, however, is what difference if any has the federal legislation and the designation of the majority of coordinating boards around the country as state postsecondary education commissions made? It obviously has not brought about the millennium nor has it radically decreased the friction where it previously existed between vocational education and the rest of postsecondary education. Part of this may be due to the fact that Title X, Part B, never has been funded.

Because federal funding under Section 1203 for planning was so low during the first year—hardly enough to pay for one first-rate planner—it did not add appreciably to the planning capacity of those boards that were designated commissions nor, unless further subsidized by the states, did it create planning capacity of any magnitude for states that created new commissions. The Administration's opposition to any funding not only prior to implementation but in each succeeding year has hardly created an atmosphere of great expectations of future funding or of increasing federal use of the commissions as a basis for strengthening the state-federal partnership in postsecondary education. Nor has creation of the commissions notably reduced friction between the public and private sectors of higher education. Recession, increasing costs, reduced state budgets, and what is perceived to be the plight of private institutions have tended to heighten the public-private confrontation. While proprietary institutions, particularly through their national organizations, have become more acutely aware and vocal about their role and contribution on the state level, a number of states have found it difficult to find a means to involve the private institutions in the state planning process. The situation for proprietary institutions has not been helped at the state legislative level by adverse national publicity in relation to the guaranteed loan program and consumer protection issues which, whether justifiably or not, have tended to focus on proprietary institutions. While no state that has instituted a postsecondary education commission has abandoned it, a few of the boards so designated have become discouraged over the funding situation.

Therefore, it might be easy to conclude that, at best, the 1202 legislation was a kind of "noble" experiment that has not succeeded. This, however, would not only be a premature conclusion but one that overlooks a series of factors that point in a different direction. First, it should be pointed out again that no state that has designated

or developed such a commission has abandoned it. In fact, there is considerably more to the matter than that. The initial response of the states before and particularly in answer to the Commissioner's letter surprised almost everyone, including the Office of Education and interested observers. Early estimates were that if the legislation was implemented, possibly between 20 and 30 states would designate or establish commissions. And yet all but six states responded immediately in spite of the known negative attitude of the Administration toward both implementation and funding. As noted, two additional states and one territory developed commissions within the first year. Also, while commissions could and usually have been designated or created by executive order, twelve states (Alaska, California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming) have taken legislative action to give statutory basis to the postsecondary education commission concept. Given the funding and implementation history, it can hardly be argued that the primary motivation for establishing commissions was receipt of federal funds. To the contrary, the reaction of the states needs to be seen as a move impacting upon, contributing to, or reinforcing a process already underway. From this standpoint, while it is undoubtedly the case that states and agencies hope for more adequate funding in the future, it was the opportunity presented through postsecondary education commissions to review resources, structures, and needs that encouraged a more comprehensive approach to dealing with the broadened postsecondary problems faced by the states, and led to such wide involvement and state action.

Second, while boards in some states as a matter of policy and in two (New York and North Carolina) by statute involve the private institutions in the planning process, and a few boards by policy include proprietary institutions, designating these boards as postsecondary education commissions means that in 36 states the scope of the boards in the planning process was broadened to include not only private and proprietary institutions but postsecondary occupational education as well. Thus, by virtue of the federal law and executive or legislative designation the range of concerns of boards was considerably widened beyond what previously may have been limited statutory bases. One result in harmony with congressional intent is the increased recognition that one can no longer plan effectively for any one segment of postsecondary education without taking the full range of postsecondary education into account. This is a broad assignment and some states have moved more rapidly in

this direction than others. As already noted this does not mean that questions of turf and intersystem rivalry have disappeared or even noticeably diminished. What is significant, however, is that in most states serious attempts to bring the contending groups into the planning process are under way. In fact, it probably is safe to suggest that even if the 1202 legislation were repealed or superseded, few if any state boards would or could afford to return to planning considerations for public institutions only.

Third, in addition to recognizing the importance of involvement of the various postsecondary sectors in the planning process, many of the state boards have taken specific action to help insure more effective coordination of efforts among the segments. This has taken various forms: representation of the private, proprietary, and vocational segments on augmented boards; development of more effective representative advisory structures; development of conferences or seminars with the various participant groups; development of special study groups; and in a number of states, broadening the information base (see McGuinness et al., 1975, pp. 95-102; 195-201; 202-208). These efforts have been reinforced on the national level by studies such as the one by James P. Lyddy who utilized the Delphi Technique, exploring actual and potential relations between coordinating boards and private institutions (Lyddy 1975). The National Center for Higher Education Management Systems has, among other things, (1) held a National Invitational Seminar on Implications of the Move to Postsecondary Education for Management and Information Systems (Postsecondary Issues . . . 1974), (2) added representatives of proprietary education to its National Advisory Panel, and (3) taken steps to modify its basic tools and planning documents to include information about proprietary institutions. The Inservice Education Program of the Education Commission of the States, in cooperation with the State Higher Education Executive Officers, has included the question of planning and interrelation among the various segments of postsecondary education as a central issue in seminars for state higher education officers, their boards, and related state officials. The staff of the jointly sponsored project on Evaluation and Improvement of Statewide Planning is working with individual states on requests in implementing cooperative planning with and among the segments of postsecondary education.

Finally, while some states, as noted in chapter two, had consolidated other federal programs involving state administration under their boards of higher postsecondary education prior to the development of postsecondary commissions, and some had not and have

not done so since, the tendency clearly has been in the direction of such consolidation. In 30 states the state postsecondary commissions currently administer two or more of these programs, thus improving coordination among the programs and reducing administrative structures.

Thus, the development of state postsecondary commissions and the designation of the majority of state boards of higher and postsecondary education as commissions have had a profound impact to date. This is the case even though there have been problems. The impact has been greater in some states than in others and has taken the following forms:

1. In all states, including those that did not elect to designate or create postsecondary education commissions, it has increased the awareness of the scope of postsecondary education and the importance of taking the various segments into account in the planning process. This includes the recognition that if planning for any one segment is to be effective, it must be related to total educational goals and planning for postsecondary education as a whole.

2. It has enabled those states without any state structure for postsecondary education planning to develop such structures or to undertake the studies that could lead to them.

3. Even before implementation it encouraged some states engaged in reviewing their state higher education agencies to broaden the scope of these agencies and their functions. Since enactment, other states reviewing their higher education structures have taken this change in perspective into account and even included the term postsecondary education in the title of revised boards.

4. In all of those states where the existing board has been designated directly or has augmented the postsecondary education commission, it has broadened not only the awareness of the agency but its responsibility for planning to include the range of postsecondary institutions and programs as well. New York is an exception in that it had such responsibility long before the Education Amendments of 1972 were enacted.

5. In most states it has at least opened communication between the state higher or postsecondary education boards and the vocational education establishment where frequently such communication did not exist before.

6. In many cases it has focused board attention on the problems,

role, and contributions of proprietary education within the states and nation for the first time.

7. While it has not appreciably decreased tensions between public and private institutions, it has strengthened the communication and involvement of private institutions with state boards of higher or postsecondary education.

8. It has helped to refocus attention of persons in the educational and political communities on the fact that the basic concern at the state level should be to provide the range of postsecondary educational opportunities for students commensurate with their needs, abilities, and interests, and that this should take precedence over the unique concerns of any one group or type of institutions. This concern is of particular importance as boards and institutions begin to plan not for continued growth and expansion, but for retrenchment and increased educational efficiency, as well as for serving new missions and different enrollment patterns.

In 1965 James L. Miller discussed what he considered to be the core function of coordinating boards, that is, the development of a comprehensive state system of education beyond the high school, and was able to say accurately of this core function that:

> it involves the identification of needs and the development of plans to meet these needs and there is not a state in the union in which this does not mean markedly increased appropriations, a steady increase in the number and quality of programs offered, and in many states . . . the establishment of new institutions (Miller in Berdahl 1971, p. 261).

Today the picture is very different. The core function may well remain the same and does involve the identification of needs and the development of plans to meet them. But in contrast to 1965, there is hardly a state in which this means markedly increased appropriations or a steady increase in the number and quality of programs offered. Although overall enrollments have increased during the current year (1975-76) by 9.5 percent, due, at least in part, to recession and unemployment of college age students, the prospects for future enrollment, while varying with the source, are not for further expansion but at best for holding even, assuming a shift in enrollment in most institutions to older students, and at worst a radical decline. Regardless of enrollment projections, it is clear that the traditional college-age population will decline during the 1980's. Even if there are signs of an upward trend in the birthrate, any increase will not affect the colleges and universities until after 1990, and the assumption that there will be such an upward trend may be gratuitous.

Another trend, quite apart from population changes, is the decreasing number of high school graduates enrolled in postsecondary institutions. This number dropped from a high of 55 percent in 1968 to 48 percent in 1974. The number of men decreased from 63 percent to 49 percent. The number of women has remained more stable, 49 percent in 1968 to 46 percent in 1974, but from their peak year of 1971 (50 percent) this is still a 4 percent drop (Froomkin 1976, p. 61). To this must be added the fact that the proportion of high school graduates relative to the total eligible population instead of continuing to increase, as predicted in the 1960's, not only

has leveled off in the 1970's, but has started to decline (Froomkin 1976, p. 3).

The financial picture at this point is even less encouraging. Costs not just in higher education but in other areas of interest to state government continue to escalate. Under recession conditions other forms of human services tend to have priority over education. State revenue surpluses of the early 1970's have in most cases disappeared, and a number of states (e.g., New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts) are in serious financial trouble. Even if one looks at the period of surpluses in many states, since the 1960's the trend has been toward reduced percentages of state general revenue going into education. These percentages dropped from 53.49 percent in 1969 to 48.90 percent in 1973. While higher education appropriations in percentages held constant until relatively recently, the percentages have not gone up and there is fair indication that they will decrease (Glenny and Kidder 1974).

These developments have been accompanied by executive and legislative demands for increased accountability, growing concern over the plight of private institutions, public concern with overproduction of highly educated human resources, and increased emphasis on more effective management, including development of management information systems to aid in decision making.

Accordingly, the focus or concern in statewide planning, coordination, and governance has shifted radically from problems of expansion to problems of contraction, of balance, of more effective use of resources to meet educational needs, and of accountability commensurate with educational objectives. If anything, the need for more effective planning and coordination is even more urgent in a period of retrenchment than in a period of expansion if educational quality and diversity are not to be sacrificed, and if the real educational needs of citizens are to be met. This change in focus tends to make the role of the coordinating or consolidated governing board more difficult, its members and staffs more vulnerable to institutional, governmental, and public criticism, and increases tensions between state boards and the institutions under their purview.

It is the nature of coordinating boards, more so than consolidated governing boards, to be in a somewhat untenable position in good times or bad.

> The board operates in a kind of no-man's-land between higher education and state government. Its effectiveness depends on maintaining the confidence of both. If the board is consistently dominated by, or is thought to be dominated by, the higher educators. . ., it loses credibility in the

> state capitol. Conversely, if the board consistently acts, or is thought to act, merely as an arm of state government, the institutions lose the cooperative spirit. Even though a board may find it virtually impossible to maintain a perfect equilibrium between these two forces, balance should be the goal (Glenny et al., 1971, p. 6).

Even within state government the situation in many cases is further complicated by too close an identification of the board with the governor and executive department by the legislature or too close an identification of the board with the legislature by the governor.

Although there never has been as much money to go around as all institutions would like, at least in periods of expansion the positive development of a growing system provides some inducement to institutions to cooperate with the state board in ensuring a balanced system. In a period of retrenchment, however, this inducement is gone. If the board is not in constant contact with institutions and does not involve them as fully as it should in the decision-making process, or if the institutions concerned with survival are under major faculty, student, and alumni pressures and inter[illegible]ally lose perspective, it is extraordinarily easy for the board to become the scapegoat, to be charged with arbitrary and capricious action, and for the normal tensions to become exacerbated to the point where political intervention, which may not have the interests of education primarily in mind, becomes inevitable.

The report of a conference jointly sponsored by the American Council on Education, the State Higher Education Executive Officer, and the Education Commission of the States on the State Agency-Institutional Interface in December of 1974 addressed this problem of institutional-coordinating board reinforcement as follows:

> Institutions and educational systems should cooperate with and reinforce existing coordinating boards. Breakdown in coordination tends to lead either to the development of a single governing system or to direct executive or legislative control. Convincing the leadership of large land-grant institutions and other prestigious universities of this relationship is difficult since they believe that they have nothing to gain from coordination. Yet the protection of institutional prerogatives and academic quality may well depend upon effective planning and coordination, especially in periods of financial stringency. Movement to a unified governing board or to direct executive or legislative control further constricts the operational freedom or autonomy of all institutions in the system (*The Institution and the State . . .* 1975, p. 2).

As important as cooperation between coordinating boards or consolidated governing boards and institutions is, the major areas of tensions are not difficult either to identify or to understand. Some

of them have been present from the beginning of such boards; others are of more recent origin. All of them have tended in some ways to be heightened by the moves necessary toward retrenchment, consolidation, and curtailment, on the one hand, and on the other hand by the equally important newer emphasis on including in the planning process the total range of postsecondary education.

Among these tension areas four stand out as of recurring concern. These involve the questions of (1) control versus autonomy, (2) centralization versus decentralization, (3) the danger of homogenization, and (4) clarification of levels of administrative responsibility. Almost every investigator or writer on state boards has dealt with these in one way or another. There is neither the space nor the time to review the literature and comment on these issues in detail. However, a few brief comments in relation to each in the light of the changed state and national picture are in order.

Few if any persons today would argue that institutional autonomy is, should be, or could be an absolute. In 1973 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education pointed out that:

> autonomy is limited by laws, by the necessary influence and controls that go along with financial support, and by public policy in areas of substantial public concern. Autonomy in these areas is neither possible nor generally desirable (Carnegie Commission 1973, p. 17).

The commission went on to define the areas in which institutional "independence" is critical:

> (1) the intellectual, through the protection of academic freedom of expression and of free choice and conduct of research projects by faculty members and students; (2) the academic, through the acceptance of decision making by academic authorities in specified academic areas such as conduct of courses; and (3) the administrative, through allowing substantial leeway in handling financial and personnel matters in detail (Carnegie Commission 1973, pp. 17-18).

The Task Force on Coordination, Governance and Structure of the Education Commission of the States went further and argued that *"regardless of the form of coordination or governance, institutional independence or autonomy should be both pursued and encouraged within clearly defined parameters and guidelines of the state plan"* (Education Commission of the States 1973b, p. 4). The Task Force went on to say:

> the most effective way to avoid direct political interference in an institution is by developing, through planning and cooperation, the rationale and structure to ensure that it is meeting basic social and educational needs

> . . . from this standpoint, *mature and effective planning and coordination are the best defenses of reasonable institutional independence, rather than a threat to it* (Educational Commission of the States 1973b, p. 75).

The problem is complicated today by the role state boards are required to play because of retrenchment when they review programs for consolidation, curtailment, discontinuance or, where justified, strengthening. It is a critical area in the institutional state board interface and currently is the point of issue in confrontation between the Board of Regents and the State University of New York. It is particularly sensitive because it clearly involves the internal academic affairs of institutions, areas traditionally the prerogative of faculty assuming availability of funds. As indicated in chapter two, apart from Delaware, Nebraska, and Vermont, which have post-secondary planning commissions only, the boards in every state except New Hampshire and Wyoming are authorized to undertake review of new programs. In 38 states the board not only reviews but must approve new programs. With review of new programs in a number of states goes the implied or explicit injunction to review existing programs, and the pressure for doing so is reinforced not only by curtailment of funds, but by legislative and executive concerns. To date such program review has taken place primarily at the doctoral level. Robert Berdahl has pointed out

> that except for a University of Wisconsin System review of undergraduate programs currently underway, and completed reviews in New York and Wisconsin of master programs [New Jersey should be added], all state reviews (including New York and Wisconsin) pertain to the level of doctoral programs. The universe there is the most limited; costs are higher; unemployment issues are more dramatic; and quality considerations seem more amenable (Berdahl 1975d, p. 10).

In addition to Wisconsin and New York, graduate program review has been undertaken or is underway in a number of other states, including Kansas, Washington, New Jersey, Oregon, Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, Minnesota, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia and South Carolina (Barak 1975). The probability is high, however, that such program review will extend to a wider range of programs in the future.

Such review does not involve specific course content, which is one of the essential areas of "independence," but relates rather to degree programs, some schools within complex institutions, and includes raising questions as to the fiscal and academic viability of programs, or at least their priority when cutbacks are necessary. Such review is and should be an institutional responsibility to the extent per-

mitted by the funding situation. Inevitably, it becomes a matter of state board concern as it relates to relations among institutions, institutional role and scope, and system program balance, including assurance that high-quality or high-need programs are maintained and strengthened rather than weakened. It is critically important that the state board work closely with the institutions in such a process, that the criteria for review be developed and understood by all concerned, and that adequate review and appeal processes be worked out (for discussion and recommendation of such criteria see Education Commission of the States 1973b, p. 51; Education Commission of the States 1975, pp. 3-4; Berdahl 1975d; and Barak 1975). But the fundamental issue related to autonomy, given the need for retrenchment, is whether decisions to consolidate, curtail or discontinue programs should be made by the state board in cooperation with the institutions or should be mandated by legislative or executive decree. It would appear that the former is more in harmony with reasonable institutional independence and preservation of academic integrity than the latter.

The question of centralization is related to the question of autonomy but is to some extent distinguishable from it. If there is any clear trend over the past 16 years, it is toward increased centralization, meaning increased responsibility and power to statewide boards. As noted in chapter one, since 1960 five states have moved from coordinating to consolidated governing boards and some 32 states have enacted legislation strengthening their state higher or post-secondary education agencies. That there are dangers in overcentralization would be hard to deny. Some observers feel that the movement to consolidated governing boards is centralization carried to its logical extreme, a conclusion in which independence or autonomy tends to remain primarily for the system and not for individual institutions (Glenny et al. 1971, chapter one; Carnegie Commission 1971, p. 29). With increased centralization there is a danger of increased bureaucracy and rigidity. To forestall such bureaucracy, Fred Harcleroad has argued for decentralization on the model of corporate conglomerates or multi-unit companies (Harcleroad, 1975a, chapter 2, 1975b).

Quite apart from movement toward consolidated governing boards and the danger of bureaucracy, the basic need in planning and coordination for the development of more effective management information systems tends to reinforce centralization. In his concern about the impact of management information systems Earl Cheit has pointed out:

> Power goes with information. As information goes to higher levels in the organization the power to decide and the practice of deciding goes there too (Cheit 1973, pp. 20-21).

As decisions become more difficult and the range of needed information broadens, there is danger of increased centralization.

There are countervailing factors to overcentralization. Neither planning nor coordination can be effective for long if the process does not include the integral involvement of the institutions and agencies planned for. Library shelves are lined with plans that were never implemented because they were too abstractly devised. One of the aims of planning, including planning for retrenchment, is to develop the understanding and consensus that make implementation possible, which cannot be done without the participation of units or institutions for which the planning is undertaken. A state board or staff that overlooks this basic consideration is headed for replacement.

It also should be noted that centralization in relation to overview is also frequently accompanied by the recognition of the importance of decentralization, both for segmental development in the planning process and for implementation. In the larger states the state board is likely to recognize that the task is too great to be carried out centrally even with institutional involvement. In a number of states the segmental boards play a critical role in their own institutional coordination and planning not unlike that suggested in the Harcleroad model. In addition, a number of states already have begun to move (with varying success) in the direction of creating planning and implementation regions within the state. At least nine states (Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Virginia) have moved to some degree in this direction. This may well be a trend that will and should increase. As long as the central board effectively coordinates the planning in the regions, such decentralization may mean that planning and implementation regions within the state. At least nine devised and will more fully involve them. It should be noted that in most of these states the regions include private as well as public institutions.

There is a third alternative to centralization in a state higher or postsecondary education board that should be a matter of major concern to the academic community. This alternative would take planning and coordination away from the levels of a board or agency primarily responsible for and usually representative of postsecondary education and lodge it either directly in the legislative

or executive branch of government or in a planning agency for all state affairs, where education would be viewed as only another competing priority. The development of more extensive legislative and state budget office staffs and governors' planning councils means that if the postsecondary education community is not able to work effectively with a postsecondary education board, this is a feasible alternative.

Finally, it should be recognized by institutions and state governments that state boards realistically should be given powers commensurate with the functions they are required to perform. One of the major arguments for substituting consolidated governing boards for direct executive or legislative intervention is that responsibility is divided and accountability is inadequate because the existing board is unable or does not have the power to deal with crucial issues. What this usually means is that the board has only advisory or weak regulatory powers and that the institutions are engaged in power plays or end runs. The legislative or executive answer may be oversimplistic, but the threat is real. From this standpoint it is in the interest of institutions to support and work with a board of sufficient strength to carry out its functions with the public interest in mind.

Another tension area is the contention that state higher or postsecondary education boards, through planning and budgeting, have a tendency to bring about homogenization of higher and postsecondary education—to approach budgeting on average cost basis, to flatten or reduce the strengths or excellence of the flagship institutions, and to move the system as a whole to an acceptable level of mediocrity. In periods of expansion state boards in many cases have been concerned with correcting inequalities within the system. Sometimes they were created in part to do just that. In periods of stringency there is a temptation to apply cutbacks across the board as the easiest approach rather than look at the hard questions of quality and priorities. This has happened, although usually it has not been by board recommendation but by legislative or executive action. The general charge that state higher postsecondary education boards have engendered or encouraged homogenization can hardly be substantiated.

> The question of homogenization as it relates to planning and coordinating agencies, even to consolidated governing boards, is a red herring. That homogenization that has occurred in higher education may be undeniable, but those who fear homogenization forget that it occurred not under the influence of coordinating boards but in the period of competition for stu-

dents in the 50's and early 60's, when institutions became progressively selective in their attempts to copy each other (Millard 1975, p. 10; Jencks and Riesman 1968).

The major thrust of coordinating boards has tended to be in the opposite direction, that is, in helping to define institutional role and scope and to preserve and encourage institutional uniqueness and interinstitutional complementarity. A number of boards have taken the initiative in encouraging institutions with less viable programs to redefine their functions; other boards have encouraged or initiated development of innovative institutions and programs to meet new or emerging needs.

Perhaps the most serious area of tension between state boards and institutions has been the question of level of decision making. Who has the responsibility for making decisions regarding various issues? There is a rather extensive literature on the subject. Four tables from four different reports attempt to delineate the prerogatives of different components in the system from individual institutions to state governments, including the legislature and executive, and have a number of features in common. These include a task force report of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (American Association of State Colleges and Universities 1971), the recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973, pp. 25-27), the discussion of the issue by Glenny et al. (1971a, pp. 7 and 12), and the discussion of the functions of coordinating boards in a report by the American College Testing Program (Harcleroad (ed.) 1973, pp. 6-7). These are helpful, but the crucial issue would seem to be that whatever the structure of decision making in a particular state it should be clearly understood by all parties involved. This is not always the case. Perhaps the clearest statement of the principles involved was contained in the report of the Task Force on Coordination, Governance and Structure of the Education Commission of the States (1973):

> Crucial to the effective functioning of the postsecondary educational system, regardless of the specific form of the state agency, is a clear understanding of the rationale for levels of responsibility for decision making. Decisions should be made as close to the source of operation as possible within the framework of planning, the guidelines for operation, the requirements for information, and the necessary programmatic, budget review and evaluation functions. This encourages rapid response to changing conditions. Decision makers should then be held responsible for their decisions (p. 78).

In addition to these four major traditional areas of tension, a

further area has grown out of the expansion of the concept of higher education to include postsecondary education. As noted in chapter three some of the partners in the postsecondary education community are less than comfortable with each other. That there are major differences between a complex graduate university and a vocational-technical institute would be hard to deny. The fact that they have much in common other than preparing students for careers might be hard to affirm. On the other hand, community colleges and vocational-technical institutes have much in common and frequently are competing for the same students and funds. Also, many of what were primarily state teachers colleges and some private institutions are moving into technical and occupational programs. State boards, particularly when they are also state postsecondary education commissions, have a clear mandate to consider the resources represented by postsecondary vocational education in planning for postsecondary education. Both the problems and the dangers in looking at educational missions from too restrictive a point of view are summarized in the report of the State Agency-Institutional Interface Conference:

> Some problems are caused because postsecondary education as a concept is not well understood by the higher education leadership. Suspicion that the leadership of the vocational-technical education sector may be better organized and more powerful politically prompts the academic sector to view their inclusion in "postsecondary" education as dangerous. Institutional administrators therefore tend to endorse the safe alternative of letting the vocational-technical leaders and the higher education leaders pursue their separate interest. Such policy runs counter to the current direction of planning and legislation set out by state and federal governments (*The Institution . . .* 1975, p. 2).

It also runs counter to the best interests of major segments of the higher education community, including, in the long run, the prestigious universities themselves.

In addition to general concern about involvement of vocational technical education in postsecondary education, other factors that should be noted in the postsecondary mix are what in some cases are the growing tensions between public and private institutions. As state and federal dollars become more restricted and state concern about insuring the continuance of the private sector grows, some public institutions consider that any dollars diverted to the private sector reduce essential support for the public sector. In turn some of the private institutions argue that their contribution to public welfare has not been adequately recognized and that if students are

to have choice as well as access the private institutions either directly or indirectly should receive larger public subventions. Finally, the proprietary schools constitute a category by themselves. As businesses they do not fit into traditional higher education patterns. Although these schools have developed a far more unified and effective voice in the last few years than ever before, the inclusion of the proprietary sector in postsecondary education planning within the states remains a major problem for some state boards as well as a matter of concern to other types of institutions.

To the tensions among public, private, proprietary, and vocational education must be added a heightened uneasiness among the sectors of public higher education—community colleges, state colleges and universities, and flagship institutions. The competition for funds and students has not alleviated the situation. With the prospects of decreasing "college age" students, the competition has increased for older students, competition which at times is more concerned with the numbers game than with delivery of educational services.

While these various tensions increase the difficulties in statewide board coordination and planning, they also increase its importance. In spite of what has been a federal thrust toward a "free market" concept—based in part on the assumption that the structure of higher and postsecondary education should be determined primarily by the students and where they take their money—few if any states are willing to go back to an institutional laissez faire. Because of restricted funds and the need for maintaining institutional diversity to meet the variety of student needs, such a laissez faire approach is neither fiscally nor educationally feasible. The trend is in the opposite direction and the alternative to coordination by a state board is direct control of the postsecondary educational system by executive and legislative mandate. At least with a coordinating structure the possibility of common planning that involves institutions for educational as well as fiscal goals is present. Also, institutional conflicts of interest can be adjudicated in the light of these goals before they reach the legislature, and a reasonable degree of institutional independence to achieve educational ends can be preserved and encouraged.

The kinds of issues with which coordinating and consolidated governing boards are currently concerned covers the range of higher and postsecondary educational issues facing institutions and the country today. In June of 1975 James Gilbert Paltridge published the results of an informal survey of some 40 members and executives

of state coordinating and governing boards, state postsecondary commissions, and multi-campus boards in regard to what they considered to be their principal concerns, issues, and problems. Analysis of the answers indicated 34 discreet problem areas ranging from general problems of budgeting under conditions of level or decreasing appropriations and inflated costs to issues of state-federal relations on development of national policies related to higher education (Paltridge 1975, pp. 8-12). While the order varied somewhat the list of issues developed by Paltridge corresponded closely to the analysis of issues contained in the annual reports of the states prepared by each of the state higher education executive officers and published in *Higher Education in the States* in July of 1975.* This analysis revealed 98 issues, 38 of which were mentioned only once. However, the first 30 in order of frequency will give a fair indication of matters of major concern and action by boards during 1974-75 in the states (see Table 3).

Many of these issues and others were undoubtedly matters of concern to most of the state boards. However, the significance of the table lies in the fact that these issues were highlighted in relatively short (1 to 5 page) reports on what the executives and the boards considered to be the major concerns within their states during the preceding year. Among the emergent issues not in the first 30 but with portent of things to come were relations to proprietary schools, state acquisition of private institutions, education of senior citizens, energy, board or agency evaluation, outcomes and effectiveness (performance audit), pricing policy, and competency-based education.

These various issues and others with which state planning, coordinating, and governing boards must deal need to be seen within the changed context discussed in the earlier part of this chapter. There can be little cause for hope that we will soon return to a period of expansion and development, or that the pressures for accountability, performance audit, and need for conservation or even contraction of programs and resources, particularly in traditional higher education areas, will go away. The economy may improve but the demographic factors will not. Nor is it likely that changing student interests toward extended education, career and job related education, and alternatives to traditional programs will suddenly

*These reports are published annually in July of each year. An analysis of the frequency of occurrence of issues has been made each year since 1971 and a report of the analysis presented at the annual meeting of the State Higher Education Executive Officers. As of July 1975, 43 states had responded.

reverse themselves. Collective bargaining has changed and probably will progressively change faculty-administrative relations and even the role of state boards vis-à-vis institutional boards, legislatures, governors' offices and state labor administrators. While there may be a major opportunity for development of adult, continuing educa-

Table 3 Major Issues of Concern to State Higher Education Agencies (As Indicated in Annual Reports)

Issue	Frequency
1. Appropriations and Funding	32
2. Comprehensive and Master Planning	27
3. Student Aid (development or expansion of state programs)	22
4. Enrollment Trends	22
5. State Postsecondary Commission (1202) Status and Operation	21
6. Private Institutions (relation to, aid for)	19
7. Community College Development and Change	19
8. Change in Coordinating and Governing Structure	18
9. Continuing, Off-Campus and Adult Education	17
10. Budgetary Review and Budgetary Process	17
11. Faculty Salaries and Benefits	15
12. Capital Outlay	14
13. Program Review	13
14. Medical Education	13
15. Institutional Changes (status, title, etc.)	12
16. Vocational and Occupational Education	12
17. Collective Bargaining	12
18. Tuition Fees	12
19. Student Involvement in Planning and Governance	10
20. Veterinary Medicine	10
21. Accreditation, Licensure and Approval of Institutions	10
22. Management Information Systems (development of)	9
23. Innovative Programs	9
24. New Programs	8
25. Tenure and Due Process	8
26. Dental Education	8
27. Optometry	8
28. Graduate Education and Research	7
29. Affirmative Action and Equal Employment	7
30. Data Processing	7
31. Nursing Education	7

*Bracketed items had some frequency of mention.

tion and life-long learning, the assumption that this opportunity can be realized without effective statewide planning by simply opening the doors of traditional institutions to older students may be a badly mistaken assumption. The problems of graduate education are by no means solved and probably cannot be solved by institutions separately. The problem of Ph.D. overproduction is complicated by the fact that a decline in Ph.D. production by even one-half of the projected surplus of graduates will reduce graduate faculty demand by major proportions, not only in relation to new faculty but to existing faculty, and will result in no hiring for the sector as a whole and probable surpluses of 10 to 20 thousand faculty members a year (Froomkin 1976, p. 51).

The executive and legislative pressures toward greater centralization as an answer to the need for greater accountability and more effective utilization of limited resources are likely to increase. Lyman Glenny pointed out as far back as 1959 that one of the major criticisms of statewide governing and coordinating boards by legislators and executive officers was "the failure of agencies to eliminate waste resulting from unnecessary overlap, duplication, and proliferation of instructional and service programs" (Glenny 1959, p. 206). Not only is this criticism still with us, but it is even more insistent today and has led to legislatively mandated performance audits. While Glenny's criticism in 1959 applied primarily to public higher education institutions, it now applies to the relations of these institutions to noncollegiate vocational-technical education and even the relation between public, private, and proprietary institutions. There would seem to be three alternatives: one is to strengthen existing state coordinating boards and in some cases even consolidated governing boards; a second is to move from coordinating to consolidated governing boards; and the third is for the executive or legislative branches of government to take over directly the major functions of audit, control, and decision making for higher and postsecondary education. All three alternatives are under consideration by the states.

As a corollary to this, whether the federal legislation authorizing Postsecondary Education Commissions (1202) continues or not, it would seem clear that the concept of postsecondary education is here to stay and that legislative and executive branches of government will continue to insist that planning, even financing of higher education, will have to be seen and carried out in the context of the total postsecondary educational resources of the states.

Legislative and public concern with what students really receive

in and from postsecondary education and what happens to them after they graduate is likely to continue and increase. At this point efficiency, consumer protection, effectiveness, and academic accountability tend to come together. The end result is likely to be not only an insistence on much clearer identification of institutional role and scope and statements of institutional objectives in relation to the system, but an increasing demand for movement toward an achievement or competency-based approach to educational credentials and accomplishments. This may well include moving away from a quantitative credit-hour means of determining educational productivity. It rather clearly is going to mean at the minimum increased emphasis on productivity with attempts to define quantitatively and qualitatively what such productivity means.

Closely related to this is an increasing emphasis on evaluation of faculty, institutions, boards of trustees and the statewide coordinating and consolidated governing boards themselves. While the latter always have been subject to annual judgment by the executive and legislative branches of government through appropriations and changes in law, concern now is being expressed about development of more systematic approaches to evaluation. Some effort is being made to focus attention on the evaluation problem (Berdahl (ed.) 1975). The Education Commission of the States in cooperation with the State Higher Education Executive Officers is engaged in a project on the Evaluation and Improvement of Statewide Planning, and the Carnegie Council is engaged in an additional study of Evaluation of Statewide Boards.

We seem to be at a point in the history of higher and postsecondary education in this country at which it would not be difficult to be less than optimistic about its future. It is clear that many of the older assumptions and expectations are gone. It is and probably will continue to be a period of some retrenchment, a period in which accountability, effective use of limited resources, and concern with evaluation and results are dominant. It may be a period in which a number of institutions both private and public will disappear. There is a danger that if particular care is not taken in planning and in fund allocation, quality of higher and postsecondary education can be diminished. If such quality diminuition is to be avoided, and the end result is to be a leaner but far more effective system of postsecondary education in the states and the nation, then effective coordination and planning by state boards in cooperation with postsecondary institutions would seem essential, and does in fact need to be strengthened and supported both by the institutions

and the political communities. The alternatives would seem to be either a destructive interinstitutional scramble for survival, which is not likely to be tolerated by the legislative and executive branches of state government or the public, or direct intervention by the political community by default of the postsecondary educational community itself. It is difficult to see how either of these alternatives would be in the best interests of institutions or of the public in meeting the postsecondary educational needs of citizens in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

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